"THE IMPACT OF SUFISM ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS OF THE JAMMU & KASHMIR (16TH-18THC.)"

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This is to certify that Mr. Bashir Ahmad Shiekh has worked under my supervision for his Ph. D thesis entitled "The Impact of Sufism on the Socio-Economic and Cultural Conditions of the Jammu & Kashmir (16^{th}-18^{th}C.)". To the best of my knowledge, the work is the original research work of the candidate, and is suitable for submission for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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ABSTRACT

The study of the history of Kashmir in itself is of great interest as the region has with unique geographical features. The present work is an effort to explore the impact of Sufism on the various aspects of the Jammu and Kashmir during the 16^{th}/ 18^{th} centuries which covers the entire Mughal and some of the Afghan period. Sufism changed the destiny of Kashmiris in case of their faith. It is a debatable issue but due to some unavoidable circumstances in Kashmir, the various literature of the Sufis or related to them, either remained hidden in the supervision of some of the *Pirs,* or could not be properly utilized for further exploration of Sufism and its impact on the different walks of life of the people of Jammu & Kashmir. Yet I visited to the various *ziarats,* shrines and tombs of different Sufis and Rishis of Jammu & Kashmir and to the religious places *khanqahs, dargahs* and *Masajids* of the Valley, to gather material for the present study.

The thesis is divided into six chapters, besides introduction and conclusion which are as follows:

1). Geo-Political Condition of Jammu & Kashmir on the eve of 16^{th} Century A.D.
2). Origin and brief early History of *Tasawwuf.*
3). Early penetration of Sufis in Jammu & Kashmir up to the 16^{th} Century A.D.
4). Organization and Position of the main Sufi Orders in Jammu & Kashmir during the 16^{th} -18^{th} Century A.D.
5). Impact of Sufism on the Socio-Cultural Conditions (of the people) of Jammu & Kashmir during the period under review.
6). The Impact of Sufism on the Economic trends in Jammu & Kashmir during the 16^{th} to 18^{th} Century A.D.

Details in the thesis about the climatic conditions, its pleasant weather, the six seasons of the Kashmir Valley, which had attracted the outsiders, the Sufis, visitors, travelers, scholars and the religious intellectuals etc. had been provided as the geographically and the land of Kashmir had multi significance. Abul Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari* compliments it as the sacred place and further mentions it as the Sufis paradise. The Geographical boundaries connecting Kashmir with the various countries that the various routes to the Kashmir Valley were also one of the reasons for the attraction of

the Sufis and *Pirs* into Kashmir. The large mountains played a key role as protective walls to the country. It is clear that Kashmir from the geographical point of view was very important as it was the heart of Asia and stands on the old Central Asian trade route, halting place of caravans travelling between the plans of India and the uplands of Central Asia. Both the geography, rivers, springs, social and cultural life and character of Kashmir has always been influenced by the migrating Sufis. With the passage of time the changes in picturesque Kashmir Valley with its political topography, its areas in length, breadth has been critically analyzed. Different passes and ways through the Pir Panjal mountain range and other passes were the main trade routes, for its connection to the outside world.

As a matter of fact up to the 18th century the political history of Kashmir is divided into four different parts, (a) Early period and rule of Hindu Rajas, (b) Reign of the Sultans of Kashmir (period of Sultans), (c) Mughal rule, Padsha-i-Chagatai or Shahan-i-Mughalia, and (d) Shahan-i-Durani (period of the Pathans). However during the 15th and 16th century, Kashmir witnessed many ups and downs. During the reign of Sultan Hasan Shah, the king of Khurasan viz, Sultan Husain Mirza sent Shams-ud-Din Iraqi as an envoy to Kashmir. He spent eight years here and again in 1481 tried to come to Kashmir, then in 1492 again came back to Kashmir. He is the founder of Nur Bakhshi order in Kashmir. However, the first setback to the Nur Bakshis was at the hands of Mirza Haidar Dughlat. During the early Mughal rule in Kashmir, there was peace and prosperity, maintenance of law and order, and good administration, was there, as roads were improved, saraies were built for the travellers, but during the last days of the Mughal rulers, the internal conditions of Kashmir became worst. Finally in 1752 Kashmir fell in the hands of Ahmad Shah Durani, the Afghan ruler.

Tasawwuf the esoteric part of Islamic life based in the light of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* of Prophet (S.A.W.). *Tasawwuf*''s major goal is to achieve nearness to God through *mahabat-i-Alahi* (God's love) and *myeet-i-zati* (God's company) and then *marifat* (mystic knowledge). The word Sufi or *Tasawwuf* from the second century *Hijra* becomes popular among masses. There are many opinions of the Sufis regarding Sufism or *Tasawwuf*. Some opinions of the prominent Sufis are elaborated in the study, meaning the real *tasawwuf* is the service to creatures (mankind). Love for Creator and service to His creatures (human beings) is the real *tasawwuf.* Some called it the name of ethics and manners (*akhhlaq-o-Aqal*). Besides it, the various definitions of Sufism have

also been discussed. The term Sufi first applied to Shaikh Abu Hasham Kufi (died in 150 A.H/ 767 A.D). However, the first generation of Sufis starts from the 14 A.H/ 661 A.D to 236 A.H/ 850 A.D. The Sufis of the early period were of the view to keep away with the government and refused to join the government services and the company of the ruling elite. They sometimes criticize the worldly minded rulers, on their (rulers) immoral and non religious acts. The important aspect of the history of *tasawwuf* of the 10th century A.D is the gatherings (circles) and groups of Sufis had started coming up. Thus after Hijaz, Iran, and Khurasan, Central Asia, Iraq and Syria were the important regions where the Sufism blossomed. By the 12th century A.D the different silsilas were organized and through these chains the Sufi thought, philosophy got much stronger bases and respect as they were identified by their spiritual hierarchical orders. Moreover during the 12th century *khanqah* system was on its highest peak. And Sufi orders and the shijra spiritual pedigree connecting murid to the Prophet (S.A.W.) the spring head of all the religious knowledge.

The Muslims entered India in different stages: (i) At the southern sea coasts during the life time of the Prophet (S.A.W.) with the purpose of trade as well as Muslim missionaries, (ii) Umayyad conquests in the Sindh etc. and then (iii) as Central Asian Turks invading North India. (iv) but Sufi missionaries had unique penetration in 11/ 12th centuries.

However, in case of Kashmir, it is clear that Muslims had already arrived there in about 8th century before the arrival of first well known Sufi Hazrat Sayyid Abdur Rahman also called Bulbul Shah to Kashmir of the 13th / 14th century, though historically there is no record of any earlier Muslim saint coming to Kashmir prior to Bulbul Shah. Even though before the establishment of Islam into the Valley, there were some pious persons even among the Hindus and Buddhists, but they were not having any connection with *tasawwuf* or to its practices. After the penetration of Islam through Sufis in Kashmir these rituals, worship practices faced a new reality that is Sufism. So the history of *tasawwuf* in Kashmir starts with the history of advent of Islam in Kashmir, and earlier to it, there is no evidence of *tasawwuf* in Kashmir. Therefore, the credit of spreading Islam in Kashmir goes to the Sufis. Bulbul Shah the first Sufi entered Kashmir for the first time in 1295 A.D during the reign of Hindu Raja Suha Dev of Kashmir. With the result people start converted into Islam; various reasons are cited for their conversion particularly their attraction towards the new faith, as the

political conditions also favoured Sufis, as the general masses were suppressed and exploited by the tyrant and incapable last Hindu rulers. Though there was Kashmiri Shaivism, Hindu faith but then there started by the Sufis and Rishis an atmosphere of religious tolerance. We also found that Islam came to Kashmir not by force but through the gradual peaceful preaching's of the Sufis. It was the under Sultan Sikandar 1389-1413 an ardent follower of the Sufis and due to whom the Kashmir remained safe from wrath of Timur.

With the arrival of Sufis during the Sultanate period, large number of *madrasas* were established, by the Sultan Shams-ud-Din, where the knowledge of *Qur'an, Hadith* and *Fiqh* was provided to the people. The Sufis and Sayyids mostly preferred to live in the rural areas, as large number of religious or Sufi missionaries and scholars came from Persia and Central Asia into Kashmir and influenced people by their methods of simplicity, preaching and piousness. An effort has been made to highlight the biographical sketches of the some remarkable Sufis, their teachings and the Sufi-Sultan relations. Even in the later on 15^{th} - 16^{th} centuries, the Sayyids enjoyed the political and cultural hegemony. The Sufism in Kashmir laid its impact on the multiple aspects of the Kashmiri lives. Thus Kashmir became a centre of Iranian influence of Islamic standard of life.

We also noticed that Shiaism was also introduced in Kashmir towards the beginning of the 16^{th} century. Sometimes there were spiritual competition and on the bases of exchanging spiritual experiences and knowledge and miraculous powers, the acceptance of superiority of one mystic by the other who get defeated in the test. The Hindu Sadus who get converted into Islam played a crucial role as the spiritual saints for the propagation of Islam. On one hand geographical conditions paved way from the Central Asia for the Muslims to enter as a continuous movement. This process peacefully promoted by the local Rishis which made it further easy for the Kashmiris to understand from them in their own local language the true spirit of mysticism. Thus it socially and morally proved beneficial for the spread of Islam and for the people of Valley.

The most important phase of the Sufism was the organization of the Sufis into orders. And up to the 16^{th} century, the various Sufi orders introduced in the Valley were Suhrawardi, Kubravi, Naqashbandi and Rishis. Suhrawardi order was founded by

Shaikh Shiha-bu-din Umar Bin Abdullah (1144-1234), but in Kashmir Sayyid Sharfud-ud-din Adbur Rahman Bulbul Shah was the first who introduced in Kashmir with the Suhrawardi silsila in the initial stage of the 14th century. After the death of Bulbul Shah there is no evidence about any of his disciples, obviously the order saw some decline for some period, but we cannot say that there was no body to run the *khanqah* as it was well maintained throughout the Muslim period and still surviving with great care. Then the period of Shaikh Hamza in the history of Kashmir is very important. During the 16th century there were a number of Suhrawardi Sufis both from outside and of the local Kashmiri origin. Some of the Suhrawardi Sufis of Kashmir liked *Sama* and the few avoided it.

Kubravi order of Sufism was founded by Ahmad Bin Umar'l-Khayuqi also known as Najmu'd-Din Kubra born in Khurasan in A.H 540/ A.D 1145. In Kashmir Kubravi order was founded and flourished by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani. *Aurade Fathiyah* a treatise even still practiced in the mosques of Kashmir after the *Fajr* prayer, was given to Kashmiris by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani. There were many disciples of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani. Mir Muhammad Hamdani the son and successor of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani came to Kashmir in 1393 at the age of 20.

There was another class of Baihaqi Sayyids in Kashmir. Their links were with the Kubravi Sufis and came from Baihaq a city of Iran. This class accepts Sayyid Taju'd-Din as their head, Sayyid Husain Muhammad had come to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar.

The Naqashbandis trace their origin from the first Caliph Abu Bakr, though the spiritual lineage (*shijra*) of some of the Naqashbandis also traces their origin to Hazrat Ali. In the 14th - 15th century 1389-1413 A.D Sayyid Hilal arrived in Kashmir and introduced the Naqashbandi silsila in Kashmir. Later during the closing years of the 16th century Khwaja Khawand Mahmud came to Kashmir from Waksh (a city in Tajiskistan) to Kabul and then arrived in Kashmir. He re-established Naqashbandi order in the Valley. In this way, the Naqashbandi order in the 17th century swiftly flourished in the Valley of Kashmir.

The Rishi order is the only local order no-where found in India but only in Kashmir founded by Shaikh Noor-ud-din Wali (RA), in the 15th century. The various prominent Rishis and the disciples of Shaikh Noor-ud-din Wali were: Hazrat Baba

Zain-ud-din, Hazrat Baba Bamu-ud-din, Hazrat Baba Latif-ud-din, Hazrat Baba Nasru-ud-Din, Hazrat Baba Qiyamu-ud-din, Baba Usman Oujib Ganayi and Hafiz Fateh-e-Hullah Hush-Huwan, who played a vital role in the spread of Rishi order.

There were few other Sufi saints like Hazrat Sayyid Bar-hur-dar Shaikh Shms-ud-din Baghdadi and Sayyid Jafir who's miraculous and spiritual powers has also been taken into account. Political nobility, Sufis and Sayyids, and on the other hand Ulama also played a vital role as the Qazis, Muftis and Shaikh-ul-Islams in solving the socio-religious problems in the light of Shriat. The Sayyids mostly came from outside Kashmir were respected by the nobles and the ruling class, and were appointed at different positions. For example, some of them were appointed as teachers at various *madrasas* etc. In nut shall Sufis in Kashmir were highly regarded and respected even more than Ulama for their liberal attitude, spiritual, miraculous powers, pious and simple life. Therefore, the Sultans and the nobles highly regarded them, sometimes building *khanqahs* for them. As mostly in Kashmir, *Pir* held the high respect after Allah and His Prophet (SAW).

In between 16th - 18th century some more Sufi orders entered Kashmir as few silsilas were already entered and their functioning and position during the period under review has also taken into account.

In Kashmir Qadiri order was founded by Sayyid Naimatullah Shah Qadiri during the second half of the 16th century. Surprisingly he avoided the company of the elite class and spent most of his time in *Sama*. Shaikh Mirak Mir and then his son Usman Qadiri were the other great Qadiri Sufis of the 16th century of Kashmir. Then a saint of the 17th century Haja Baba Qadiri, his mystic practices, and influence over the people are discussed. Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri arrived in Kashmir on the invitation of Baba Dawud Khaki. Then Ismail Shami in 16th century came from Syria claimed that he is the direct descendant ship of Abdul Qadir Jilani. Mir Nazuk of 17th century spent most of his life in preaching the practices of Qadiri order in Kashmir, who initially was a Suhrawardiyyah, but Sayyid Ismail initiated him into Qadiriyyah order. Mir Nazuk does not enjoyed *Sama,* after his death he was succeeded by his son Mir Yousf Qadiri who took the charge of Mir Nazuk's *khanqah* at Khanyar (Srinagar). After his death in 1617 the responsibility of the Qadiriyyah teaching was taken by Mir Muhammad Ali who was the third son of Mir Nazuk. His mission was succeeded by his worthy

successors. The other Qadiri Sufis of the period were Shaikh Abdul Rahim who performed the practices of *Bait* and *Tariqat,* was another Qadiri Sufi of Kashmir. But it was during the Shah Jahans reign under Mullah Shah Badakshi the religious preceptor of Dara Shukoh, and during that period Qadiri order in Kashmir reached to its utmost heights. Mullah Shah Badakshi received knowledge from Miyan Mir Qadiri of Lahore. In the court of Shah Jahan, Mullah was highly regarded but after the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne, Mullah Shah left Kashmir and went to Lahore where he passed away from this world at Lahore. It is believed about the Qadiri Sufi Hazrat Khwaja Habibullah Gani that he not only guided and trained human but he also guided the *Jinns* etc. and died in the 2nd half of the 17th century. Hazrat Shah Muhammad Fazal claimed about himself that he is direct descendant of Hazrat Ghouse-i-Azam and came to Kashmir in 1681-82. Hazrat Shaikh Anayatullah Qadiri was much famous in interpretation of dreams and was also interested in mystic practices including *Sama.* Shah Farid-ud-din Baghdadi Qadiri was among the descendants of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. He came to Kishtwar in 1075 A.H/ 1664-1665 A.D at the age of 75, with the result the Hindu Raja Jay Singh of Kishtwar become Muslim and was the instrumental in spreading Islam in Kishtwar. After the death of Shah Farid, the Qadiriyyah order in Kishtwar was further continued by his son Asrar-ud-Din.

The head of the Sadat-i-Qadiriyyah Gilania Khanqahia in the Poonch region was Hazrat Shah Abdul Qadir (RA) who is connected to Hazrat Ali through 28th generation and was born in Delhi. He came to Poonch in between 1728-1736 during the rule of Amir Khan under Muhammad Shah was the Mughal Emperor of Hindustan. The Qadiriyyah Sayyid is granted jagirs in Poonch and his followers are found in the districts of Riasi, Mirpur and in the parts of Kashmir Valley. However, one after another, this succession of the Qadiri Sufi saints continued in the Poonch. The number of the followers of this succession, later on spread in Punjab, Rajouri, Kishtwar, Banihal, Kotli etc. An old tradition of this dynasty was that of the elder son had always succeeded to his father or preceptor.

Sadat-i-Hamdania Hanifia was another group of Sufis who in the 18th century came to Poonch, and claimed as the sons of Sayyid Shahji (who is buried in Peshawar) and their silsila belongs to Shah Hamdan. They travelled from Kashmir to Poonch in the reign of Raja Rustum Khan, some members of this dynasty are also found in the Uri town of Baramullah district of Kashmir.

However, the Nur Bakshi a mystic order with the close affinity to the Shia ideology was introduced into Kashmir Valley by Mir Shmas-ud-Din Iraqi and his son introduced this order in Askardoo and Kargil. After the conquest of Mirza Haidar Dughlat in the first half of the 16^{th} century, the Nur Bakshiyyah order received some setback, therefore, with the passage of time during the Chak rule Shiaism got political support. However, it could not sustain long, though after the decline of the Chak rule in 1586 A.D the Maliks of Chaudoora became their supporters and well wishers of this Nur Bakshi order in Kashmir. Even the Mughal Emperor Jahangir shown his sympathy towards the Shias of Kashmir by reconstructing the Shia *khanqahs* at Hasanabad and Zadibal, but they could not expand so swiftly, because there were only few followers of this sect in some of the areas of Kashmir like Askardoo and Kargil.

Shms-ud-Din Iraqi came to Kashmir in 1481 AD from Talish in Iraq as an ambassador to the court of Hassan Shah, and after a short stay in Kashmir returned back to his country. The presence of Shaikh Ismail who was alive and Iraqi could not propagate his mission openly. Again on his comeback, Ali Najar who was the *khalifa* of Shaikh Ismail and he became the first disciple of Iraqi. However, in Kashmir Shia-Sunni relations remained in almost good terms barring a few clashes between the two sects on some occasions. For example in 1622, 1636, 1667 and finally 1685-86 disastrous riots took place in the Valley. The Mughal emperors never encouraged the sectarian divisions among the people of Kashmir. Many steps were taken for maintaining check and balance and for the internal security, the prominent people found involved in such rival activities were also given severe punishments.

A brief survey of 16^{th} century onwards, and role played by the Rishi, Suhrawardi, Naqashbandi, Chishti and Kubravi order has been done. Though the position of Rishi order during the 16^{th} -18^{th} centuries, was quite better, as the number of local Kashmiris joined this order. But during the 16^{th} century on one side, there was liberal Rishi and Shavite attitude in process, on the other hand, Shiaism was spreading under the patronage of Chak rulers. The people also supported the Naqashbandi order which emphasized the orthodox Islamic thought. Later on people with held their support to the Rishi order with the aim to gain orthodox Islamic thought. As a result Rishis were not able to have *khanqahs, nor* any sustained places, for the congregation and to provide instructions to the newly registered Rishis, thus the order was not well organized like the other Sufi orders. In this way the order could not continue further and could not

compete with the other Sufi orders and moved towards decline during the Mughal period. Still there were almost 2000 Muslim Rishis during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. However, the role of some of the important Rishis mentioned with their miraculous and spiritual powers were Hazrat Hardi Rishi Baba, Shaikh Naroz Rishi, Shaikh Rupi Rishi and Shaikh Kangi Rishi which represent liberal and harmonious class of Kashmiri Sufism.

In Kashmir Naqashbandiyyah order was introduced during the Mughal rule by Khwaja Baba Wali of Khawarizm in 1590-91 from Khawarism (Turkistan) and others, viz, Sriyaul Milat, Muid-ud-Din Ar-raz, and Hazrat Khwaja Mahmud Al-Baqi Billah who was born in A.H 971/ A.D 1563-64 at Kabul. He in 1592 went to Amkana a village in the vicinity of Samarqand where he learned the practices of Naqashbandi order from Maulana Khwaji in three days and then he spent two years in Kashmir, after that he left to Delhi and stayed there till his death 16 30 A.D. Khwaja Khawand was among the great *khalifas* of Hazrat Khwaja Bahau'd-Din Naqashband. He travelled to Bukhara, Waksh (Tajiskistan), Kabul, and then to Kashmir, he also opposed to Shiaism, challenged and checked their faith by preaching orthodox Sunni faith in valley. He sent some of his disciples to Kabul for spreading Naqashbandi order there, and through Mullah Abdul Hasan Dawud Kashmiri, Naqashbandi order in the Tibet was introduced. The Mughal emperor Jahangir put some restrictions on Khwaja Khawand Mahmud's anti-Shia activities, with the result the Naqashbandi saint left Kashmir to Kabul, but again returned to Kashmir during Shah Jahan's reign as there was Shia-Sunni conflict the orders of the Governor of Kashmir he left to Lahore but appointed Moin-ud-Din Khawan to propagate the Naqashbandi order in Kashmir and he himself died in Lahore. Thus Moin-ud-Din Naqashbandi was the 18th century great Sufi having charming personality. He also wrote some treatises for example *Fatawa-i-Naqashbandiyyah* with the help of few contemporary Ulama. *Mirat-i-Tayiba* a biography of his father, and *Kanzul-Saddat, Muatt-ul-Qulub, Sair Khar-ul Bashria* etc. were also compiled by him. The other prominent Naqashbandi Sufis of the period under review were Khwaja Mullah Kamal, Khwaja Haidar Natinoo, Mullah Husain Haji Ganai, Haji Mustafa Rumi Naqashbandi Sufi, Mahmud Naqashbandi, Hazrat Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi Naqashbandi, Shaikh Muhammad Murad Taung, Khwaja Haji Ubidullah Naqashbandi Nour-ud-din Muhammad, Aftab Naqashbandi.

The famous Chishtiyyah order which was first founded by Shaikh Abu Ishaq Shami who came to Chisht some time before 260 AH/ 873-74 AD from Syria. *Chisht* (in Persian term *Kisht*) is a small village also called Khwaja Chisht, on the river Hari Rud, 100 kilometers east of Herat and is the first Chishtiyyah Sufi center now in the modern Afghanistan. However, in India the Chishti order was introduced by Hazrat Khwaja Moinud-Din Chishti (1185-1236), who was a great Sufi of the middle ages and who migrated from Khurasan and decided to preach Tasawwuf and realspirit of Islam in the Indian subcontinent. He was the *khalifah* of Khwaja Usman Harman Chishti of Nishapur but was followed by a chain of great Chishti stalwarts responsible for the spread of liberal Chishti ideas.

Chishtiyyah order was introduced in Kashmir by Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (b.1520-21), who was a Kashmiri Sufi and scholar. Though this order was introduced in Kashmir very late but had its remarkable influence on the different aspects of Kashmiri lives. People in the various walks of life used to practice Sufi-value system including *Sama* as ascribed by this famous order and work for the betterment of humanity irrespective of any consideration.

However, it is to be noted that the Chishtiyyah order could not withstand, with the other emerging Sufi orders in Kashmir. In spite of the fact that there were some prominent Chishti saints who continuously tried their best to preach the Chishti mystic practices and *Tariqat* among the Kashmir's and had influenced socio-cultural aspect of the Kashmir. The ideals of love, tolerance, piety, humanism and communal harmony amongst the people owe much to their efforts. Moreover, the preaching and teaching exercise are going on and still the people visit to the *Dargah* of Chishti-saints in the Valley and particularly at the Ajmer and Delhi etc. for the blessings and ziarats.

It has been highlighted that when and how Chishti order was introduced and influenced the Kashmiri people. During the Mughal period and onwards, their mystical quest for *'Ilm* (knowledge), learning, and their relations to the remaining other stalwarts of the Indian Sufis etc. have been furnished. The important Chishti Sufis of Kshmir included in the thesis are Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Hazrat Shaikh Ismail Chishti, Miyan Muhammad Hasham Chishti, Shaikh Ali Muhammad Chishti, Hazrat Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti, Hazrat Shah Afzal Chishti, Hazrat Shaikh Dawud Chishti, Hazrat Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din Chishti and Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Karim Chishti and their role in

creating communal harmony and peaceful co-existence amongst people has been well explained.

As we know that, Kubravi order was introduced in Kashmir by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani in the 2nd half of the 14th century A.D., but during the last years of the 16th century the Kubravi order gradually stimulated towards its downfall. Baba Ismail tried his level best to reorganize the silsila but could not succeeded in this mission, though Kubraviyyah Sufi saints have been found even 16th century onwards also. Some of the prominent Sufis of the period are discussed in the study are Shaikh Musa Bladmari Kubravi a contemporary of Emperor Jahangir. Another Sufi taken into account was Baba Abdun Nabi Kubravi who was of Aurangzeb's period. Khwaja Abdur Razaq Kubravi was also a contemporary of Aurangzeb. Sayyid Hussain Pakhli Kubravi was an eighteenth century Sufi of Kubravi order. Khwaja Abdullah Kubravi and Hazrat Baba Azam Kubravi were the two other Kubravi Sufis of Kashmir of later Mughal period. Baba Abdul Baqi Qubravi was the contemporary of the author of *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* that is Khwaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari of the 18th century. They were having high spiritual powers and played vital role in preaching of Islam and communal harmony.

It is found that with the arrival of Sufis and penetration of Sufism, Islam spread peacefully in Kashmir. It was because of the efforts by these Sufis that the condition of Kashmiri people in all the walks of life was transformed. For example in their daily life usual manners, customs, dress, food and habits etc., we find much influence of Central Asia and Iran. However, the people converted into Islam could not give up all their old local customs, practices, beliefs and traditions, with the result a new a social order emerged combined with old ideas with the new ones. The Kashmiri culture affected by the cultural relations of Persia and Turkistan was then termed as Indo-Islamic culture. Though Kashmiri Hindu society was also cast based but was not so rigid as in other parts of India. The Brahmans were enjoying all facilities and high status even sometimes indulged in politics.

Thus with the social and cultural transformation of Kashmir, the Hindus of Kashmir also impressed, they even adopted Muslim dress, food habits as even sometimes few of them even started to eat beef, though are various other reasons for the change and downfall of the Hindu rule. It should also point out that the Brahmans a

religious class among Hindu society did not admit Rinchana into the circle of Hinduism. In both the cases it was natural phenomenon that with the transfer of political power to the newly converted Muslim ruler Rinchana, on social and religious status the privileged position of the Brahmans now taken and filled by the Muslim divines, Sufis, *Pirs*, Sayyids and Ulama. These people were highly regarded in the society as well as amongst the ruling elite. The Sufis right from the fourteenth century acted as social reformers and raised their voice against injustice and exploitation in accordance to their mystic activities and beliefs, which also influenced the political power to act rightly. Sultan Sikandar banned on *Sati* practice on behalf of the advice of Mir Muhammad Hamdani. The Sufis also tried their level best in unifying the economic disparities caused by the Varna (cast) system prevailed in the society. They tried to bridge gulf between different classes. Two types of Sayyids were prevalent in Kashmir: Baihaqi Sayyids and Alavi Sayyids, the former category even from the 15th century took part actively in the state politics. The Sufis in the 16th century were highly regarded because of their piety, simplicity and learning. Later these various Sufi orders prevailing in Kashmir were the Suhrawardiyyah, Kubraviyyah, Qadiriyyah, Naqashbandiyyah, Nur Bakshiyyah and Rishi order. The *Zikr* ceremonies of the Sufis which besides the devotional aspects served as a symbol of social equality, all classes of the different people together perform the same practice. It was in the 16th century that Dar-ul-Shifa was a college at the foot hills of Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar where Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi studied Sufism besides the other sciences and learning. He also suggested and advised people to acquire knowledge and emphasized that the religious taxes should be paid. Sufism also laid emphasis on the inward (*batin*) purity of man which is much important than the dogmatic formalism of the orthodox type. The organization of the *khanqahs* in Kashmir is mentioned where the Sufis lived and their disciples learn mystic teachings and practices and get free food. The Rishis of the Kashmir also laid much impact on the socio-cultural life of Kashmiri people. According to Jahangir during the Mughal reign there were 2000 Rishis, who mostly believed in the social service. The Sufis of Kashmir always took notice about the welfare of the general masses, for example, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi emphasized that the Kashmiris shall not be made slaves and servants while inviting the Mughal emperor Akbar to annex Kashmir, which was the agreement between Sarfi and Akbar a unique treaty between a Chishti saint and emperor contrast to Chishti philosophy. During the

Chak period there were open discussions held between the Hindu yogis and Muslim saints. Moreover no one could deny the historical fact that throughout the whole Muslim rule in Kashmir and even today the Hindus of Kashmir visited the Muslim shrines to receive the blessings. The rural and urban life during the 16th to 18th century has also been depicted as the people in Srinagar lived happy life while in the villages' people lived simple life mostly living in simple architectural infrastructure houses, but they were satisfied with natural and fresh atmosphere and climate.

However, the position of women in Kashmir during the Hindu rule was not good and they were deprived of their status. Therefore, when the Sufis entered Kashmir and propagated Islam, it laid good impact and also refreshed the women life, and they got their due status, prestige and right of equality with men. Some of the Kashmiri women stood as the cultural members of the society in the fields of religion, literature and fine arts. During the 16th to 18th century in Medieval Kashmir the women enjoyed the similar positions or status in society as they were given in the countries like Iran, Turkistan and in other parts of Mughal India. There were few women who were very active and cultured and they opened schools, build monasteries and mosques and took interest in the public affairs. Sura Hayat Khatoon, Gul Khatoon and Habba Khatoon were the prominent ones. Another important role of the Kashmiri women in the socio-cultural activities was that, some of the ladies of the Sufis arranged the managements of the *khanqahs* after the death of their husbands. For example in 1674-75 wife of Khwaja Moinu-ud-din Naqashbandi took the responsibility of the administration of the *khanqah* more tactfully and successfully as compared to the men folk of the period. We found that the disciples of Mullah Shah Badakshi in Kashmir also played a significant role in the field of education by establishing *madrasas.* For example Madrasa-tul-Islam, Madarasa-ul-Dar-ul-Shifa, and Madrasa-tul-Uusqa in the Srinagar were the main centre of learning, where besides the social and moral education all types of knowledge of Islamic science like *Qur'an, Hadith, Fiqh* and *Tafsir* were delivered to the students and the learners used to come from the other countries to these learning centers. Moreover Sufis also laid stress on women education and with their efforts, women education became popular during the period under review.

Thus with the penetration of Sufis into Kashmir, Sufism laid direct impact on the dress of the people of Kashmir. The Muslim women wore a *fillet* on their forehead and a black *mantilla* above it which fell from the head over the shoulders on to the legs

and was called *Kasaba* but in case of Hindu women it was called *Taranga* which was hence tied to a hanging bonnet falling to the heels from behind. It was in use during the 16th -18th centuries by the Kashmiri women. The new terms in Persian to the new fashionable dress of the Kashmiris after Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani are trouser (*sarawil*), for the kamiz (*chetthis*), short waist (*sadri)*, for *pharan* (*chohgah*) and round turban (*dastar*) the head dress. The 18th and early 19th century Pundits of Kashmir dressed and behaved like their Muslim brethren in order to adjust themselves with the Muslim community and that one cannot easily found discrimination on the bases of dress. The Kashmiri diet and food habits also changed under the impact of Sufis, migrated from outside. The cooking of rice under the Persian influence in various types of Pulavs like Trush Pulav, Zard Pulav and Shulla Pulav, Zafron and other spices further made Kashmiri *Wazwan* more tasty and favourite. The history of Kashmiri *Wazwan* as the core identity of their culture traced back to 15th century. It was migrated Sufis and other artists and cooks that came from central Asia, Iran etc. to Kashmir who brought with them, these things. In addition to Kashmiri *Wazwan,* still famous throughout the world, the Kashmiri beverages like *Noon Chai* and Kashmiri *Kahwa* which is usually prepared and served at marriage feasts, festivals and at religious places (*Fateh-i-khawani* celebrations etc.). *Kahwa* had its origin from a 14th century Arab coffee, which in turn was named after an ancient beverage of the Sufis. For such famous food items credit goes to Sufis who introduced them to Kashmir. Lateron beef was almost eaten by all the classes, throughout the period under review. Besides it, various vegetables and fruits were also used by the Kashmiris. During the period under review few drinks like Anguri etc. were also used by some singers etc., during the 17th century in Kashmir. Some sources of amusement were also prevalent there during the Chak and Mughal rule. The practice of narration of different folk tales of Laleshwari and Shaikh Noor-ud-din Rishi etc. composed and recited by men and women to maintain a link between the past and present. In this way Sufism became a bridge between various other creeds and Islam. The Sufi *khanqahs* were mostly established at important Hindu centers viz, Sopur, Srinagar, Muttan, Avantipur and Kishtwar etc. This represents that Sufis were also prepared to face Hindu religious and intellectual challenges. But the doors of these *khanqahs* were always remained open for all the classes of people.

Some of the socio-religious festivals celebrated with great pomp and show by the Muslim community were Id-ul-Fitr, Id-ul-Zuha, Shab-i-Barat, Muharam, Nauroz

and other local festivals like Urs-i-Shah-i-Hamdan, Makhdum Sahib, Chrar-i-Sharif and ziarat Hazratbal at Srinagar. It was general concept of the Kashmiris that, the people who were not impressed by the living saints, were attracted towards the tombs of the saints in different circumstances, with the result, after their death the *Ziaratgahs,* shrines and tombs of the Sufis become the regular pilgrimage centers for all classes of people, with the purpose to get their spiritual blessings and vows fulfilled. During the 16^{th}-18^{th} centuries Kashmiris participated in both religious and secular festival type celebrations. It was because of the Sufis influence over the Kashmmiris that a new branch of music called *Sufiana Kalam* was in vogue in Kashmir. Besides it, the folk music of Kashmir had its unique features. The *Sufiana Kalam* has its resemblance with the Indian and Iranian musical features. Many of the musical instruments which had origin from Persia and many Ragas or Maqamas are still found in Persian as Maqam Duga, Muqam Nawa, Singha etc. The Rabab used in the Kashmiri folk music, was brought to Kashmir from Turkistan. *Lute* the instrument of music had its origin from Persia. We also notice that during the last days of the Mughal rule and during the Afghan rule music could not promoted for certain reasons may be they were unaware about the Kashmiri language or they had no time for such activities. Sometimes the defeated rulers go to the Sufis for blessings and then it becomes their necessity to provide them best services in the administration. The local Rishi poets also played a vital role as to be the cultural mediators of Islam in Kashmir. The Muslims of Kashmir sing Vaks of Lal Ded, the most liberal Sufia poetess, Kashmiri women of the 14^{th} century. This assimilation and combination of cultures showed by the poetry of such saints represents a symbol of composite culture in Kashmir from the ancient times up to late 18^{th} century as various litrary works were produced in Sanskrit, Persian and Kashmiri etc. though from 1555-1752 Persian was the official language as well as language of literature. In the final stage 1752-1923 poetry took some new forms, romance stories, legends of love and adventures revealed. Thus with the passage of time in the Muslim history of Kashmir there varied a tremendous change in the language and literature. Calligraphy was also introduced in Kashmir during the period under review and many calligraphists earned fame and name under Mughals. Ali Chaman Kashmiri was a calligraphist attached to the court of Akbar and Muhammad Husain was of the Akbar’s and Jahangir’s period while the Muhammad Murad Kashmiri and Mullah Baqir were calligraphists in the service of Shah Jahan. The

Kashmiri culture has a composite character being a constituent of Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist basics. The Mughals promoted art and other constructions, founding garden, sarais and cities. However, in 1753 Kashmir fell into the hands of Pathans of Kabul and the Mughals turned peace and prosperity in the Valley, tyrant for the Kashmiris under both the Afghans and Sikh as they did not encouraged to the cultural aspects of Kashmiris for the betterment of the people rather than exploited the people.

It was such a great impact of Iran and was of the Persian language on Kashmir that Kashmir got the title of *Iran-i-Sagir* (little Iran). During the period under review the Kashmmiri merchants, soldiers, poets, artisans and scholars not only worked in Kashmir but also moved outside of Kashmir. They travelled widely to the entire India, and in this process the Indian way of life had also influenced Kashmiri society. Many learned people Iranis, Turanis, Afghans, and even people came from Hindustan and settled in Kashmir who gave a new dimension to the Kashmiri society. Overall the Mughals were generally liberal rulers and regarded and respected all the faiths up to Shah Jahan who too visited Kashmir several times. But the period from Aurangzeb's death (1707) to 1753 is considered the worst period in the history of Kashmir and around 1720 some Shia-Sunni clashes and Hindu-Muslim riots are also took place. However, it was the Mughal Governor Abdul Samad Khan who was very liberal, came to Kashmir in 1722 from Lahore who crushed the rebels and maintained peace.

Besides the other aspects of life in Jammu and Kashmir, it should be noted that the whole life style including the economic trends also underwent drastic changes. Even after the death of some prominent Sufis, *Pirs*, *Faqirs*, where people assemble on *Urs* celebrations, and on other festivals. However, on different fairs *(melas*) people started to buy and purchase things around theses ziarats of the various Sufis. With the result, this business proved fruitful to make the economy of the people sound. Kashmir is also known for its various fruits. One of the fruits called cherry also named as *gilas* was actually introduced in Kashmir from Europe via Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan.

However it should be worth which mentioning that in the 14th century Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani (1314-1385) a Sufi came to Kashmir along with some 700 Sayyids, craftsmen, Ulama, scholars and learned men who introduced new techniques in the various arts and crafts of Kashmir, though the Kashmiris already knew the techniques of *Hamams* but after Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani the technique get a new

shape. He introduced the community *Hamams* instead of family *Hamams*, besides it, the other arts for example *Kari-i-Qalam-dani* or *Paper machie, Khatum-band* or the act of ornamental wooden ceiling, *Namdas* or felt carpets and some metal and leather crafts came from Samarqand, Kashgar, Yarqand, Khotan, Hamdan and Mashad. It was one of the reasons that, the mentioned Sufi is also called as Nation-builder of Kashmir. During those days *khanqah* was considered as community center of brotherhood besides the meditation and learning there were working centers attached to the *khanqah* called *karkhanas*.

During the Medieval Kashmir, the Kashmiri shawl industry was considered as national industry. The shawls named *Jama-war* and *Param-naram* considered by the emperor Akbar as the best shawls. During the 16th -19th centuries these were known to the Europeans. Naghz Beg a resident of Khuqand also played a vital role for the progress of shawl industry in Kashmir. During the Mughal rule in Kashmir the ring shawl prepared from Pashmina was also considered as one of the best shawls. Therefore, the price of the shawl also varied up to several thousands and even today this ring shawl casts in lakhs. For the shawl manufacturing Pashmina (wool) was mostly brought from Ladakh. During the 16th century Srinagar was the hub as commercial centre, the other trade places were Anantnag, Sopore, Shopiyan, Avantipura and Baramullah. Jahangir also mentions that the goat wool for the shawl manufacturing was brought from the Tibet. *Tili* or *Kani* and *amili* were the two other prominent varieties of Kashmiri shawls. It is claimed that such designed *amali* shawl was invented by Said Baba Alias ‘Ala Baba in the period of Azad Khan who was the Afghan Governor of Kashmir from 1783 to 1785 which promoted the Kashmiri economy.

Even after the down fall of the Mughal rule and in the Afghan rule in Kashmir who were also interested in the shawl industry, these Kashmiri shawls were in great demand in the countries like Iran, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Russia. During the 18th century Kashmiri shawls were considered fashionable in Europe also. However through the whole Muslim period in Kashmir the Islamic influence on the arts and crafts as found and contributed to the material and economic progress of the Valley.

However, the carpets in Kashmir owe its origin to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin who brought carpet weavers from Samarqand. During the Mughal period, particularly during

the reign of Jahangir in 1614-1618, a Kashmiri Muslim who went to Mecca to perform *Hajj* via central Asia on his returning journey visited Andijian in Persia where he brought the tools of carpet weaving art and again flourished this industry in Kashmir. Thus the designed carpets were very famous throughout the Mughal period.

It was during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, silk industry was considered as the queen of textiles. The origin of silk industry in Kashmir is not known but it was ultimately connected with that of Bukhara. Both during the Akbar and Jahangir's period it is found in the contemporary records that, there were mulberry trees whose leaves were used to feed the silk worms. Thus it signifies that Mughals organized the silk industry however, after the end of their rule the Afghans also encouraged silk industry in Kashmir.

So far as the paper production in Kashmir is concerned, a natural kind of paper called *Bhoj patar* (betula tar tarica) also called *Tuz,* bark of a tree was used as a paper for writing manuscripts as well as for writing amulets (*tawiz*) by the Sufis and *Pirs,* even now in some rural areas of Jammu and Kashmir the Sufis, *Pirs* and Ulama writes *tawiz* on this Bhoj patar and is considered as the sacred paper by the Kashmiris. It is believed that production of rag paper was discovered in Samarqand and during the 14^{th} and 15^{th} centuries it was introduced into Kashmir by Muslim refugees from Persia and Samarqand. During the Zain-ul-Abidin's reign there were three qualities of paper produced were *Famashi, Damashti, Kalamdani,* besides it, *Rangmas* was a coloured paper used for packing purpose. This process continued in the Mughal period. The Kashmiri Sufi and scholar Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi wrote letters to Mulla Badauni, suggesting him for the providing Kashmiri paper that if he needed. Therefore, we noticed that, during the Mughal and Afghan period (16^{th}-18^{th} century), Kashmiri rag paper was largely demanded in India. Besides India, large quantity of paper was exported to Persia via Ahmadabad generally came from Kashmir.

With the arrival of Sufis to Kashmir besides these techniques there were other techniques brought by the emigrated Sayyids. There was also the positive influence on the science, now in Kashmir the new Persian and Arabic medicine were practiced by the great Hakims right from the Sultanate period.

Saffron right from the medieval period of Kashmir history is very famous, though during the Chak period its separation from its flower or petals was done by

forced labour. However, Gazi Khan the son of Kaji Chak discouraged this practice of forced labour. Akbar too during his third visit to Kashmir in 1597 A.D abolished this practice of forced labour of saffron cleanings. It was largely cultivated at Pampur and was chiefly exported to India, Yarkand and China. Significantly during the period under review some English and Dutch merchants also purchased saffron from Kashmir. It was also used for religious sanctity. The saffron of Kashmir was best in quality as compared to that of cultivated in Italy and Morocco. The people, who worked for the saffron cleaning, were given salt in turn of wages because salt was not produced there but was brought from Hindustan.

Throughout the whole Muslim period in Kashmir land revenue was the backbone as source of income to the royal treasury. Sultan Shah Mir fixed 1/6th of the grass produce and Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin continued the same practice then his successors change it into 1/3rd of the total produce. However, in the time Emperor Akbar land was measured and fixed and 1/3rd of the autumn produce (*kharif*) as the share of the state for each patta and land was fixed at two *traks* of the produce. Later on, the second assessment was carried out under the supervision of Husain Beg Umari and Qazi Ali. It was then Kashmir was divided into 41 parganas, revenue from each pargana was fixed in both cash and kind. Generally such type of taxation continuously practiced till 1819 up to the end of the Muslim rule in Kashmir. Some of the other taxes and or cesses like ferry-toll, bridge toll, tax on imports and exports, tax on arts and crafts (*rasum-i-hirfa*), tax on fire (*wan-wazari*), on cattle, (*gow mirbahri*) and on trees (*sar darakhti*), etc. and *Jazia* and *Zikat* sometimes also taken, is mentioned in the present study.

The villagers sometimes make necessary it for them to participate in the *Urs* celebrations of their *Pirs* and they contribute their share individually.

The architecture of Kashmir directly influenced by the Sufi saints, emigrated Sayyids from the various countries of Central Asia, who brought with them various techniques in the architectural features of the construction of buildings viz, Khatam-band (ornamented ceiling) to some shrines in Kashmir, for example, Naqashbandi shrine near Jami Masjid of Srinagar resembling to the design of ceiling found in Samarqand, Bukhara, Persia, Constinople, Algiers and Morocco. Lattice work (*taban trashi*) also found in the mosques of Shah Hamdan, Bahauddin Sahib and Madan Sahab

and in the Jami Masjid. This lattice work got much importance during the Haidar Dughlats period 1543. In the Mughal period the Jami Masjid and Shah Hamdan Mosque were rebuilt on its origin pattern.

The Muslim architecture in Kashmir replaced the stone constructing material by wood because it was easily available and resistible for the climatic challenges such as snow earth earthquakes etc. The wooden style of architecture owes its character of influence from Ghazni, Afghanistan. The *Khatam-band* wood technique of Kashmir architecture had its origin from Persia and Central Asia. The Islamic arts and crafts with some local already existing architectural features for example *mazina* on the top with spire on the roof of some mosques reveal obviously an adaptation of Buddhist *chattravali* and Hindu *sikhara* to the Jami Mosque signifies the symbol of composite culture in the architecture of Kashmir. A long list of the *Ziarats, dargahs* and *khanqahs* of the various Sufis and Rishis with their rare photographs as plates from the various places of the Jammu & Kashmir viz, Rajouri, Kishtwar, Srinagar, Budgam, Tral, Islamabad (Anantnag), Sopur, Kupwara etc. taken through the physical survey to these places, have been included in the thesis. Thus the conditions of Jammu & Kashmir were largely influenced by the Sufis during the period under review i.e. 16th- 18th centuries influencing almost each and every walk of daily life of Kashmiris which we see even witness today having unique character of their socio-cultural and the sources of their economic resources and professions.

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Bashir Ahmad Shiekh

INTRODUCTION

Sufism is the esoteric and spiritual dimension of Islam representing the inward aspects of the worlds of the greatest religion. The bases and beginning of *tasawwuf* (Sufism) is *iman* (faith) which had six important beliefs and principles, viz the existence and the Unity of God, the angles, the Prophets, the day of resurrection and lastly the good and evil, the God's predestination. The Islamic *tasawwuf* finds its roots with the life and personality of the Prophet of Islam Hazrat Muhammad (SAW), who is the role model for all those mystics, spiritualists, *Sufis, Darwishs, faqirs, Rishis* and *Pirs* who had dedicated their lives for gaining the knowledge of *haqiqat* and *tariqat,* in the light of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* to achieve this real goal of Islam.

Sufism is not something different or a new religion from Islam. In fact the mystic spirituality also depends on the five basic and fundamental pillars of Islam i.e., the *kalama (shahdat), (salat)* to prayer, the *saum* (fasting during Ramadan), the *(zakat)* obligatory contribution towards poor and finally the performance of pilgrimage (hajj) if the person could effort the expenses.

The Sufis had played a key role for the propagation and progress of Islam by performing various mystical exercises, contemplation, renunciation and self denial. Thus the large Sufi centers of the world Syria, Egypt, Central Asia, Iran, Khurasan, South Asia did certainly played a vital role in the social and economic developments of these regions. Kashmir also could not remain away from the effect, influence and touch of the great Sufis in the first half of the 14th century.

Kashmir is well known to the world from the very earliest times, because of its geographical features, culture, civilization and its people. It's boundaries besides touching to India and Pakistan, also touches to the other countries of the world like China Tibet, Afghanistan etc. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is no doubt is the most beautiful region in the South Asian countries and is also gifted by the Almighty Allah with various natural resources. It for this reason that right from the ancient times the Valley of Kashmir due to its natural beauty, civilization, culture, unique history and its people not only known to the world, but also played a key role in drawing attention of the large number of people including the Sufis, Rishis, Sayyids, Ulama, poets, learned

men and travellers. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir had praised the beauty of Kashmir in the below Persian couplet:

Agar firdaus bar rue zamin ast
Hami ast o-hami ast o-hami ast

(If there is a paradise on earth it is here, it is here, it is here).

Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal said this verse in Urdu about Kashmir:

Werse mai ham ko aayi hai Adam ki jaidad
Jo hai watan hamara wo jannat-i-nazeer hai

Pandit Burj Narayan Chakbast has beautifully narrated the following couplet about Kashmir:

Zarra zarra hai mare Kashmir ka mehman nauwaz
Rah mai pathar ke tukdoo ne diya pani mujhey.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir especially the valley of Kashmir is generally known as *"pir-vaer"* that is the land of *pirs*, as right from the ancient times Kashmir was inhabited by the Hindu *Rishis* and *munnis,* and they had nothing to do with the Islamic mysticism or *tasawwuf*. However, the establishment of Islam in Kashmir in the 14th century was due the efforts of the first Turkistani Sufi Sayyid Abdur Rahman alias Bulbul Shah.

The various sources which proved helpful for the preparation of the present work are scattered in the various private collection, in the cultural academy libraries, state and central achieves in Srinagar, Jammu, Delhi and in other Public and research libraries in the various universities in the form of Rotographs, microfilms, manuscripts, articles, journals, administrative records, biographies of the Sufis, Medieval geographies, accounts written by travellers, Modern published works, Gazetteers, Encyclopedias, vernacular sources, magazines and pamphlets are also of the importance.

Pandit Kalhana verified *Ragatarangani* was compiled in 1149-50 A.D. and is long narrative work of occurrences taking place in Kashmir valley from the earliest times to 1150. About 200 hundred years after Kalhana wrote *Rajatarangani,* that Jona

Raja a court historian of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin continued the Kalhan's work from 1150 up to 1459 A.D. This source is very useful to understand the social and political conditions prevailing in Kashmir before the establishment of Sultanate or the Muslim rule. The author is an eye witness in the period from 1389 to 1459. He had mentioned about his contemporary Sufi Mir Muhammad Hamdani son of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani and his relations with Sultan Sikandar 1389-1413, though he did not write anything about Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Lal Ded, and Shaikh Noor-ud-din Wali. Then it was Srivara a pupil of Jona Raja, continued to write the account of the Sultans of Kashmir and named it *Zaina Rajatarangani.* He was a friend of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin and supplies the details of the remaining years of the Sultans reign 1459-1470. Besides, the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, he also enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Haidar Shah (1470-72) and Hasan Shah (1472-84), and therefore, was able to compiled the history of the Sultans from 1472-1486. He was also a scholar, poet and a musician. His work is of great importance because it throws much light on the religio-political trends of his time. The *Zaina Ragatarangani* reveals the penetration of the Persian and Central Asian influences in Kashmir during the Sultanate period. He also wrote about the cultural changes of Kashmiri people and the causes of the down fall of the Hindus and the rise of the Muslim power in Kashmir.

Besides the above mentioned Sanskrit sources there are a number of Persian chronicles written by the Kashmiris. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* written by Sayyid Ali is the extant Persian source written in Kashmir before the Mughal annexation of Kashmir in 1586. He wrote it in 1579 A.D. during the Yusuf Shah Chak's first accession to the throne. He laid much stress on the miraculous role of the saints. Sayyid Ali Kashmiri the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* gives detail information about Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani, and in his work, he also discusses about the activities of the reign of Qutb-ud-Din and also discusses up to the 15th century about the Rishis of Kashmir. He states that in Kashmir Islam was spread by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani but forgets that the first Sufi saint a Turkistani, Hazrat Bulbul Shah converted about 10,000 people to Islam in Kashmir much prior to Hamdani. He also uses the term of *But-Shikan* for the Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir, while there is no evidence in the contemporary Sanskrit sources that whether he issued the orders of demolishing of the Hindu temples or not. However, it appears that when the Sufis as the Muslim missionaries entered the Valley of Kashmir from the Central Asia and Iran converting a large number of people to Islam,

obviously they also changed their worship places into mosques by themselves without any compulsion. And few temples got destroyed by the natural calamities. Though, it is claimed that, the Sultan Sikandar's Chief Minister Suha Bhatta after conversion to Islam named as Saif-ud-Din had demolished some temples because he was having some earlier personal rivalry with the Pandits of Kashmir. If the Sultans were a broker of the idols, then why they did not demolished the temples of Shankar Acharia (*Takht-i-Suliaman*), *Pandrathan* and many other temples. The same mistake has been repeated in many later Persian chroniclers of Kashmir.

On the other hand Sayyid Ali also narrates about Mir Muhammad Hamdan's influence on the religious perceptions and thoughts of the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, enlightening his religious policy, his encouragement to arts and crafts, details of the struggle for power between Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah, and above all the brief biographical notices of the Sufis and Rishis of Kashmir flourishing in the Sultanate period is of great value. His eye witness account of Mirza Haidar Dughlat's rule (1540-50) in Kashmir, Mirza's policy towards Shias, and the conditions leading to his down fall, are fairly described in the chronicle, which proved that Sayyid Ali Kashmiri acquired scholarship. Miraculously he saw his father in a dream giving him the direction for an attempt to explain the success of the Sufi movement in Kashmir, which perhaps was the main reasons, that he gave much stress on the miraculous power of the Sufis in the mentioned chronicle.

Another source the *Bharistan-i-Shahi* written in Persian by an anonymous writer was completed in 1615 and provides detailed history of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1615 and is best source regarding chronology and topography. The author's eulogize of the role of the Baihaqi Sayyids and his lavish praise for their acts of piety, bravery and generosity reveals that he must have been in their services. Besides, he also gives much stress and importance to the role of the founder of the Nurbakshiyyah order i.e., Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi. No other contemporary record has given so much importance to Shams-ud-Din Iraqi's role in Kashmir. The *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is composed in an ornamental language, and occasionally mentions both Hijra and Laukika dates. Though essentially a political history, it also contains notices of some famous saints and learned men of Kashmir.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Hasan Bin Ali Kashmiri was completed it in 1616 A.D., and records Kashmir's past from the earliest times to 1616. Hence the significance of the work, however, lies in its treatment of the history of the Sultanate period, up to the end of the Hasan Shah's reign (1472-84) for which it is very useful.

Tuhfatul Fuqra a manuscript compiled by Mufti Muhammad Murad Tang in A.H. 1122/ A.D. 1712. It is available in the form of a manuscript in the Research Library of Srinagar. The author was a great Kashmiri Sufi and he had recorded the conditions of the Sufi saints, *darwishes, Ulama,* learned men and thinkers of not only of Kashmir but also outside Kashmir viz, India. He also wrote about those pious personalities to whom he met in Delhi, Punjab, Sirhind and Kabul. Actually it is an authentic source which throws light on the lives and conditions of the Sufi saints of the Mughal period. He had also narrates the conditions of his *Pir-i-murshid* Shaikh Abdul Ahad Sirhindi and his own relations with his *Pir-i-murshid.* He also registered some of his letters to his *pir* and of some other of his *pir's* contemporaries. Besides, he mentioned all those Sufis and *mashaikh* whose connection was with almost all the Sufi orders viz Qadiri, Chishti, Naqashbandi etc. at a time Khwaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari who was the *murid* of Mufti Muhammad Tang, while writing *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* had taken *Tuhfatul Fuqra* as the fountain source regarding the lives and conditions of the Sufis. Many things Diddamari had traced from the Murad Tang's work. Presently no doubt Dr. Sayida Ruqia had translated some portion of *Tughfatul Fuqra* with *Tahqiq wa tanqid-wa-tasih-matan* into Urdu in 1997, and published from Srinagar, which was very beneficial for me as it provided some basic information about the Sufi saints of the period understudy.

Waqiat-i-Kashmir written by Muhammad Azam Diddamari in 1747 A.D is rich with the information recorded about the life and achievements of the Sayyids, Sufis, Ulama and poets. As far as the political conditions of Kashmir is concerned there is a little information recorded in the source. The author is an eye witness of the later Mughal period and on social structure of Kashmir he had written about the '*begar*' (forced labour) which was prevailed in the Valley. There is no doubt the *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* is beneficial for the students and scholars of Literature, History, Geography, Sociology, Political Science, Geology, Archeology and Genealogy. The source covers almost the entire period of present work that is up to the 18th century. It provides

information about the civilization and cultural influence of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia upon Kashmir and also gives information that how Islam propagated and spread in Kashmir and what role Sufis, Ulama and Sultans and others had played in the promotion and establishment of education in Kashmir. The author himself gives a little bit information about the purpose of writing this manuscript. In the initial, he deals with the history of Kashmir and throws light up on the geographical conditions and the flora and fauna of the state. He states that his main crux of writing this source is to mention the conditions of the Sufis right from the penetration of Islam in Kashmir up to his own period i.e., up to A.D 1747. The chronicle written in Persian has the same way of history writing as it was in vogue in the History books of the Asian content that along with the political conditions, the Ulama, *mashaikh* and the Sufis of the period also got their place and space.

There are other indigenous Persian works of Kashmir, Maulvi Hasan's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* in three volumes. He narrates the history of topographical, social, cultural and political history of Kashmir. Thus it forms an unbiased and detailed supplement to *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*.

Among the Non-local Persian works *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar Dughlat compiled in 1546 is an important Asia work on the History of the Mughals of Central Asia. The author as a ruler invaded Kashmir twice, first from Kashgar in 1533, on behalf of Sultan Said, and second from Lahore in November 1540 when he succeeded in the occupation of Kashmir and ruled it for the ten years. He has given a full description of his first invasion of Kashmir, but is wanting in information with regard to the second invasion. Besides it, the author gives useful details with regard to the Hindu temples and ancient sites, agriculture, religion and geography of Kashmir. He pays glowing tributes to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin for introducing various arts and crafts in Kashmir. He was an orthodox Sunni Muslim, and was a critic to the few less knowledgeable Sufis, Rishis and the Shias of Kashmir.

Abu'l-Fazl's *Akbar-nama,* briefly describes the history of the Mirza Haidar's rule in Kashmir. On the other hand the invasions of Kashmir by Abul Maali and Qara Bahadur and the relations of the Mughals with the Sultans, Chaks and the Mughal occupation of Kashmir in 1586 have been described in detail. It is useful from the point of view archeology and topography, and is trustworthy and reliable source.

The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badauni refers to famous saints and men of letters in Kashmir. His account of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi a Chishti saint is useful who is said to have played an important role in the Mughal occupation of Kashmir. There are also useful references about the Akbar's relations with the Chak rulers.

The *Haft lqlim* by Amin Ahamd Razi was completed in 1594. It furnishes information about the shawl industry of Kashmir and also contains short notices of Kashmiri poets, saints and rulers. Besides it the author also briefly mentions Mirza Haidar's conquest of Kashmir.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abu'l-Fazl, a court historian of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, supplies valuable information regarding to the revenue system of Kashmir. The author throws light on the various aspects viz, the changes brought about in the field of revenue administration after the Mughal occupation of Kashmir. Besides it, he has also mentions about the topography, fruits, flowers and food grains of the Valley and had also discussed about the religious beliefs, notable Sufis, Rishis, social customs and habits of the people of Kashmir. However it's English translator H. S. Jarret in Volume II., by in its 3rd edition 1978 (New Delhi) had made a serious mistake on page 355, while writing on **Muslim Rishis** of Kashmir of Akbar's reign he mistakenly states, "The most respectable class in this country is that of the **Brahmans**, who notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds of tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God." In this quotation he must have to correct the word Brahmans to Muslim Rishis.

The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* written by Jahangir is an authentic primary source which gives interesting detailed information regarding the life of the habitants of the Valley. It gives details about the planting of tulip flowers, on the roofs of the buildings built on the banks of the river Jhelum, and about various productions like saffron, fruits, silk, dress and food habits of the Kashmiris and information regarding the bridges over the Jhelum within the city and about the Rishis of Kashmir, and of other various events etc. i.e., great plague and fire in Kashmir in 1617-19 are supplied in the source. Jahangir's references to the political history of Kashmir are also useful. As he claims that, Kashmir is much indebted to Mirza Haidar for its excellence. His description of the conquest of Kishtwar in 1618 is also important. Besides it, he had also mentioned about

the social life in Kashmir and writes about the various fairs, festivals and celebrations. However he also is also critical of stating the Kashmiris that they are dirty people, having their houses on the banks of river Jhelum, they did not bear a drop of water touches to their bodies. Here, it seems that infact he failed to notice the *bathing-ghauts* on the river Jhelum and the *hamams* prevailed from the earliest times connected to the mosques of Kashmir.

Iqbalnama Jahangiri of Mutamid Khan gives useful references with regard to the plague of 1616 and the campaign of Kishtwar, with a little bit information about the social life of Kashmiris, the code of dress of the people has also been described.

Both *Badshahnama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori and *Badshahnama* of Muhammad Qazwani, records the information of the events of the Shah Jahan's reign in Kashmir. The various occasional references to the habits of the people of the city of Srinagar are also taken into account. Lahori has also depicted a geographic picture of the famine which stalked Kashmir in 1641 during the Shah Jahan's rule.

There are some religious works or biographies of saints, Sufis and most of them written by their disciples, which are of greater historical value, as there appears a firm attempt on the part of the biographers to glorify the deeds of their masters. Their accounts include the amazing tales of miraculous and supernatural powers displayed by the saints and their disciples. Thus notwithstanding the criticism, the hagiological literature enables us to understand the powerful impact of Sufism on the minds of Kashmiri people.

Dastur-us-Salikin also called *Wirdul-Muridin,* written by Baba Dawud Khaki, contains biographical notices of his *murshid* Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. It was completed in 1554-55. Though Baba Dawud also wrote a *Rishinama* in which he describes the spiritual state and miracles powers of his religious preceptor and also gives a brief description of the Rishi saints of Kashmir.

Rishi-nama by Baba Nasib completed in 1631-32 is an important source for the history and growth of the Rishi movement in Kashmir. The author claims the Shaikh Noor-ud-din Wali was the founder of the Rishi order in Kashmir. He also gives useful information about the Brahman priests and Muslim saints, and their religious attitude towards the Shias, and the attitude of Shaikh Noor-ud-din towards the Mullahs. The

source also gives us information and references about the manners, customs, beliefs, dress and food habits of the inhabitants of the Valley. However, the work suffers from certain short comings, firstly a great stress has been laid on the super natural powers of Shaikh Noor-ud-din Wali, in getting converts to Islam and also those of Shaikh Hamza in crushing the religious activities of the Shias. Secondly Baba Nasib had irrational prejudices against the Shias who are dubbed as "wretched", and in this way, *Rishinama* reveals the mind of an orthodox Sunni Muslim of the medieval period.

Asrar-ul-Abrar written by Baba Dawud Mishkati in 1653, furnishes the details of the lives of the prominent saints of Kashmir. Hence it contains a brief account of Sayyid Ali Hamdani and his disciples but the history of the Rishi saints has been discussed in detail. Mishkati also records all those sayings (*malfuzat*) which are not found in the *Rishi-nama* of Nasib. The author also depicts the references regarding the social habits of the people of Kashmir.

Futuhati-i-Kubraviya written by Abdul Wahab Nuri in 1748-49 describes the lives of the Kubravi Sufis and Rishi saints of Kashmir. Besides the brief description about the history of the Sultans of Kashmir, the author also furnishes the history of Islam in Kashmir from the time of Rinchana to that of the Mughal emperor Akbar.

So far the travellers' accounts in Kashmir are concerned; Father Jerome Xavier and Bendict de Goes were the first Europeans who visited Kashmir in the company of Akbar in 1579. Jerome Xavier's description of the sufferings of the people of Kashmir due to the famine of 1596 is important. Francis Pelsaertt visited Kashmir during the reign of Jahangir his description of Kashmir though sketchy, but is useful. On the other hand Bernier who accompanied Aurangzeb gives much information regarding shawl trade of Kashmir and his account of the social and economic life is also very significant. Besides it, Father Desideri and Father Manoel Fryer had also thrown light on the social and economic life of the region. Later in the 18th century in 1783, George Forster visited Kashmir and furnishes the economic conditions of the people during Afghans rule there.

There are some near contemporary but secondary sources like *Tarikh-i-Hasan* written by Pir Hasan Khuihami (d. 1898). It was originally written in Persian in four volumes. The first volume deals with the geography and discusses about the location of

several places of worship in Kashmir. The second volume furnishes the political history of Kashmir up to the writer's own time. His third volume is very important with regard to present work. In his third volume, he broadly gives information about the biographies of Sufis, saints, Rishis, Sayyids, Sadat, Mujzubs and Ulama. The author has also discussed about the relics and their historical importance. However, in his fourth volume the author narrates about the poets of Kashmir, particularly of the Persian poets of the Sultanate and Mughal period.

Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir is written in Persian, by Hajji Mohi-ud-Din a Kashmiri in A.H. 1310/ A.D. His work is a running summary in one handy volume of political, religious and literary history of Kashmir. Thus the work depicts the narration of the history of the faith of Kashmiris towards the saints and Sufis and their relics. But overall the work is very useful and had rich information regarding my present work.

However, in the modern period not much work has been done on the theme particularly on my study, specially the period from 16th to 18th century. However, there are some valuable sources which proved helpful to my study, *Kashir Being A History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* of G.M.D. Sufi, who started writing it in 1925 A.D., and completed in 1949 A.D. The author wrote this source book in two volumes and covers the history of Kashmiris from the earliest times till 1940. He has dealt with the religious activities, superstitions, social evils and also about the architecture of Kashmir.

Among the other works, *Sufism in Kashmir (fourteenth to the sixteenth Century)* written by Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi is an important attempt of the author to the Sufis in Kashmir. The author in his work depicts and emphasizes up on the Sufi orders or silsilahs in Kashmir up to the 16th century. No doubt it is an important work which helped me to understand the background of some Sufi orders and Sufis in its initial stage in Kashmir. He also narrates about the Rishi order of Kashmir. His work was first published in 1976.

Muhammad Ishaq Khan's, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam, The Role of Muslim Rishis (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century),* is an important source regarding the Rishis of Kashmir, as the Khan has given much emphasis on the role of Rishis, rather than the other Sufis who came from outside Kashmir. Here it seems some injustice to the real

founders and preachers of Islam in Kashmir. However the credit to conversion initially goes to the Sufis who came from Central Asia, Iran, Turkistan, Baghdad, Medina and their efforts made role and task of local Rishis further easy to continue the mission of Sufis for the propagation of Islam in Kashmir.

Another important modern work of Mohammad Ashraf Wani *'Islam in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century)'* discusses in details the causes and roots of conversion of Kashmiris to Islam, discussing it in the 6th Chapter of his work. Besides it, the author has also given a small list of some Kubravi and Suhrawardi Sufis and some of the prominent Persian and Central Asian Sufis who preached Islam in Kashmir.

However, none of the modern works supply any details about the Socio-Economic and Cultural Impact of Sufism on the lives and conditions of Kashmiri people particularly from 16th to 18th century. A long list of various primary and secondary sources which I have utilized, had also been added in the bibliography.

Thus apart from utilizing the above mentioned works as the important sources, of the study material and information gathered through the oral interviews, during my field work, and through the physical survey to the buildings or the Sufi shrines, of some prominent Sufis, saints or *Dargahs* and *khanqahs* have also been utilized in historical perspective in the preparation of the thesis.

On the basis of above discussed sources detailed account of, *"The Impact of Sufism on the Socio-Economic and Cultural Conditions of the Jammu & Kashmir (16th-18th C.)"* has been prepared and is divided into six different chapters.

In the first chapter an attempt has been made to highlight, *'Geo-political Condition of Jammu & Kashmir on the eve of 16th Century A.D.'* The chapter discusses the geography of Kashmir at the beginning of the 16th century, and in brief its climate, political conditions, topography, and also about the various Hindu chieftains from the earliest times up to the Muslim Sultans. Besides it, a brief description of the present geographical situation of Jammu and Kashmir and its division into three parts and its areas has been described in square kilometers under India, Pakistan and China and the area under water in the Indian administered Kashmir. The importance of various passes and ways of the earlier and Medieval Kashmir through the Pir Panjal mountain range

has also been highlighted. The various routes mainly, Jhelum Valley road, Shupiyan road and Banihal road, their distance and time of construction have also been defined. Geographical boundaries of Kashmir touched to the various countries have also been analysed, which were solely responsible for the penetration of Sufis and learned men from outside Kashmir. The area of Kashmir, its length and breadth from the North West to South East right from the ancient period division of Kashmir into two major geographical divisions Maraj and Kamraj had been discussed. Besides the various gardens built by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir who was very fond of Kashmir, in the above mentioned chapter efforts are put to define that when and how the name of Kashmir came into existence. Besides the geographical features, an attempt has been made to furnish the political history of Kashmir with a brief description of Hindu princes up to the 14th century with the rise of the independent Muslim Sultans (Shahmiri and Chaks) has been discussed. The political history of Kashmir up to the 18th century has also been taken into consideration in the chronological way. Early period of the Hindu kings of Kashmir and after their down fall, in Kashmir three categories of Muslim kings ruled. (a) Independent Sultans 1320-1586 (Shahmiri Sultans and Chaks). (b) Padsha-i-Chagatai or Shahan-i-Mughliah, i.e. Mughals (1586-1753) and (c) Shahan-i-Durrani, period of Pathans (1753-1819). All political activities are briefly but generally assessed in the historical perspective. It has also been discussed that who were the Shahmiri Sultans what was their origin and then about Chaks, their origin and place of migration and settlement in Kashmir has been well acquired. Thus light has been shed on the transfer of political power from the Hindu rulers to the Muslim Sultans of Kashmir, resulting political stability during the Sultanate period, measures for maintenance of law and order by Rinchana the first Buddhist converted Muslim Sultan of Kashmir. Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi's arrival in Kashmir in the last decade of the 15th century, Chaks support to the Shias of Kashmir and the exploitation of the orthodox Sunni Sufis at the hands of Chaks, which led the Sunni Sufis like Baba Dawud Khaki and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi to invite the emperor Akbar for the annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal Empire, blessed by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum Kashmiri Sufi. Akbar annexed it in 1586, and Jahangir further annexed Kishtwar, and then the Mughals also annexed Tibet with the Valley of Kashmir. The Mughals ruled over Kashmir for the period of 166 years, natural calamities like famines

and earth quacks during their period has also been highlighted. In 1753 Ahmad Shah Durani the Afghan ruler conquered Kashmir.

Second chapter of the present study deals with the account of, ‘*Origin and brief Early History of Tasawwuf.’* Merely all the aspects regarding Islamic mysticism and Sufism or *Tasawwuf* from origin, development within the light of *Qur’an* and *Hadith* personality of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.), the pious *Sahaba* and the *Ahl-e-bait* as the role models for them has been furnished. The development of *Tasawwuf* in the early period of Islamic era, main early Sufis of the various Sufi centers viz, Mecca, Medina, Kufa, Busra, Baghdad, Khurasan, Syria Iran, and in the other parts of Islamic world, and the role of Sufis relations with the ruling class has put together. The major Sufi orders, their founders and *shijras* system have also been put to account.

The third chapter of the thesis is devoted to the, *Early Penetration of Sufis in Jammu & Kashmir up to the 16^th^ Century A.D.,* which covers arrival of the Sufis, their teachings, and biographical sketches, the Sufi-State relations and social contacts. It has also been pointed out that how and when Islam entered in India and how and when it penetrated into Kashmir through the Sufis, and what were the main reasons for such a large number of Kashmiri Brahmans and other non Muslims so got converted into Islam, has been critically analyzed. In what way the Sufi movement or Sufis entered in the Valley of Kashmir in the 14th century, various Sayyids (who entered Kashmir in the Sultanate period) and with the passage of time, some of them gaining good positions even in the government administration, as many of them were also appointed teachers to teach the students in the *madrasas* has been elaborated. The sympathetic attitude of Sultans towards the emigrated Sayyids, Sufis from Iran and Central Asia, onwards of land grants to them further consolidated their position. Besides these outsiders who arrived as Sufis from the various countries of the world, the local Kashmiri Sufis and Rishis also played a key role in the propagation of Islam, which strengthened the Sufi movement in Kashmir. However, the Baihaqi Sayyids interference in the state politics, in the Sultanate period is also taken into account. The Sufis role as social reformers and the role of the local Sunni Kashmiri Sufis in the Mughal occupation of Kashmir in 1586 A.D have also been analyzed in the historical perspective

However, in the successful mission of Sufis, some local religious practices of *Pir-i-muridi* system, simplicity, piousness, learning, miraculous powers and the

spiritual practices remained beneficial for the peaceful conversion in Kashmir. The various orders of Sufism viz, Kubravi, Suhrawardi, Naqashbandi, Qadiri, Nurbakshi and local Rishi order, immensely contributed for the propagation of *Tasawwuf* and Islam, but the Sufis main aim was to maintain harmony, peace and prosperity among the lives of the masses. The role of Ulama and Sayyids besides the Sufis in the various aspects of social and political life of the medieval state of Kashmir has also been taken into account.

The fourth chapter of the present work highlights the '*Organization and Position of the main Sufi Orders in Jammu & Kashmir during the 16th -18th Centuries A.D.'* During the above mentioned period Qadiri, Nur-Bakshi, Rishi, Suhrawardi, Naqashbandi, Chishti and Qubravi orders were flourishing in the valley of Kashmir and also in Rajouri, Poonch and Kishtwar etc. Qadiri order was introduced in Kashmir in the second half of the 16th century by Sayyid Niyamatullah Shah Qadiri who arrived in Kashmir during the rule of Chaks (1561-1586). He was fond of the *sama* but disliked and avoided the company of the ruling elite. His successors and followers who tried to flourish the Qadiri order in Kashmir have also been assessed well. Moreover it was during the Shah Jahan's reign that the Qadiri order reached to its utmost heights because of the main contribution of the Mullah Shah Budhakshi who was the religious preceptor of Dara Shukoh. As mentioned above some of the Qadiri saints in Kashmir enjoyed *sama,* music, dance and beauty etc. Moreover, among the Qadiri Sufis, it should be noted that they even went outside Kashmir in search of knowledge and mystic practices like *tariqat* etc. It is also claimed about some of the Qadiri saints in Kashmir not only guided and trained the human beings but they also guided the *jinnates* (gins). The Qadiri Sufis were mostly succeeded by their eldest son. All these aspects about the Qadiri Sufis of Kashmir have been narrated. The Nur-Bakshi mystic order turned into a political movement but it could not sustain long in Kashmir. A great setback faced the Nur-Bakshi order with the decline of the Chak rule in 1586 in Kashmir. The Shia-Sunni relations in Kashmir during the period under review have been taken into account. The sectarian tension between the Shias and Sunnis of Kashmir during Jahangir's reign, and again in 1636 broke out. Later in 1667 sectarian riots broke out mainly in the Srinagar and again in the year of 1685-86 has been critically analyzed in the historical perspective. The results of these clashes were no doubt a heavy loss of men and property as well as of the religious buildings etc. The

real issues and reasons for these clashes between Shia and Sunni of Kashmir are furnished in this chapter.

The role and the condition of the Rishi movement during this period also has been highlighted and narrated in the above discussed chapter. Though the Rishis prevailed during the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahangir, yet they were not well organized systematically, well received in Islamic thought and philosophy, that is why they could not sustain their movement and its hold on people for a long period as compared to the other Sufi orders in Kashmir. It should also be noted that some of the Rishis remained in the company of the Suhrawardi Sufis of Kashmir and entered in the Suhrawardi Sufi order of Kashmir. However, the miraculous power of the various Rishi saints of Kashmir played a vital role in the spread of their movement which has also taken into account.

In fact the Suhrawardi order was organized in Kashmir before the 16th century but under the Mughals especially in the 16th century, for the propagation and promotion of the Suhrawardi order in Kashmir, credit goes to Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. His teachings and preachings at large have been also discussed in this fourth chapter of the present work. Furthermore what was the condition of the Suhrawardi order after the death of the Shaikh Hamza Makhdum during the 16th century has also been narrated. Role of the prominent Sufis of the Suhrawasrdi order of the era and their acceptance in the other Sufi orders have also been discussed.

The Naqashbandi order in the Mughal *Subah* of Kashmir was introduced by the Khwaja Baba Wali of Khawarizm in 1590-91 A.D., their role to suppress the Shias of Kashmir, and also Mughal Emperor Jahangir’s sympathy with the Shias has been analyzed. The role of men and significantly of women in running the administration of Naqashbandi *khanqahs* in Kashmir, and some of the Naqashbandi Sufis interest for *Sama* practices have been furnished in the chapter. In this way the Naqashbandi order remained active up to the 18th century with the penetration of the various Naqashbandi saints at intervals continued in the valley, to support its propagation. They also travelled outside to the various countries of Arabia, Syria, Iraq etc., in search of religious knowledge, and to learn the various spiritual methods and practices, and thus continued the process of preaching as an orthodox Sunni Sufism.

Finally the details about the Chishti Sufis of the concerned period in Kashmir has been supplied as their preference of *sama, Zikr-i-Jahar* had attracted lakhs of people to their fold. Their mystical practices and miraculous power and their close contacts with their Indian Chishti saints etc. had also been furnished in the above chapter of this work.

The Kubravi Sufi order one of the earliest order penetrated in the Sultanate period in Kashmir but by the end of the 16^{th} century the order was on almost its disintegration, but it does not mean that there was no Kubravi saint during that very period. It should be noted that during the 17^{th} - 18^{th} centuries there were few but prominent Kubravi saints who tried to flourish the Kubravi order even in the Aurangzeb's period.

The fifth chapter of the present work, deals with the most important aspect of the, *'Impact of Sufism on the Socio-Cultural Conditions (of the people) of Jammu & Kashmir during the period under review.'* It has already been stated that, though the Muslims had already penetrated in the 8^{th} century A.D. in the Valley of Kashmir, but in the first half of the 14^{th} century Sufis entered Kashmir, followed by a large number of Sayyids etc. With the result it laid great impact on the daily life as socio-cultural aspect of the people of Kashmir, undoubtedly the people of Kashmir warmly welcomed the new culture and assimilated its attractive features, but at the same time did not give up their old practices or rituals completely. These aspects regarding the Indo-Islamic culture of the Kashmiris have been discussed in the chapter. The role of the local *Sufia* poetess Lalleshwari and Shaikh Noor-ud-din the Rishi poet can't be ignored easily in this context. With the establishment of Sultanate in Kashmir, the special status of Brahmans replaced by Sufis, Pirs, Sayyids and Ulama and the role of Alavi and Baihaqi Sayyids in the Kashmiri society has also been highlighted on the basis of authentic contemporary sources. Moreover the Sufis as social reformers and the role of *khanqahs* in the socio-cultural life and activities of Kashmiris and their influence on the ruling elite has been discussed. The role of the Ulama and Sayyids in the matters of judicial administration in the 16^{th} century during the Chak rule can't be easily ignored, as with the consents of such religious personalities, the rulers brought some considerable changes and concessions regarding the forced labour (*Begar*), and other evil practices of the society and the remission of heavy taxes from the poor class, which is also taken

into account. It signifies that all such religious personalities were highly regarded by the rulers in the medieval state of Kashmir because of their piety, piousness, simplicity, learning and justice.

The conditions of the education system during the period under review about which the Sufis had always stressed upon people to acquire knowledge, have been noticed in the chapter. Sufis played a crucial role in providing education and establishment of *madrasas* and *maktabs* in the valley of Kashmir. The various contemporary *madrasas* during the period were in the Srinagar city, not only religious knowledge of *Qur'an* and *Hadith*, was given but there other branches of learning, were also taught to the students who come to these *madrasas* even from the outside the countries also. All these aspects regarding the education system of the period, was an important part of socio-cultural life of the Kahmiris have been briefly furnished with condition of education. However, Persian remained the official language of Kashmir.

The Rishi movement though founded by Shaikh Noor-ud-din Wali in the 15th century specially emphasized on the welfare of the Kashmiri society. Through various manners specially planting fruit, and shady trees, on the road sides and fields, for the benefit of the common people irrespective of any worldly greed etc., has been narrated.

Hindu-Muslim matrimonial alliances were practiced in the Valley in 16th century, as some Hindu women married with the Muslim men. This system was continued even in the 17th century but Jahangir and Shah Jahan banned on such matrimonial alliances between Hindus and Muslims. And on festive occasions both the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir join to each other's ceremonies. Right from earliest period and since long and even in the Mughal and Afghan period the Hindus of Kashmir too regularly visited to the Muslim shrines for the purpose of getting blessings have been brought to light, as has been practiced in the other parts of the country.

The living style and the social conditions of the urban life particularly in the Srinagar city of Kashmir and the social life in the rural areas in the villages have also been dealt carefully.

The role of Kashmiri women in the socio-cultural aspects have been taken into consideration. In the period of understudy conditions of both the Hindu as well Muslim women are separately and briefly discussed. They enjoyed the similar positions or

status in society as they were given in the other countries of that time like Iran, Turkistan, and in the other parts of the Mughal India. The common women did not care about *purdah* and they help to their men folk, and worked with their husbands. Besides, the role of higher class women and the women of the religious men and other learned women, are also discussed in the mentioned chapter.

In case of the dress of the Kashmiris of the era, Persian and Central Asian influence is clearly visible both in terms of dress of men and women, as the dress, the diet (food) and beverages of the Kashmiris, underwent to drastic changes. The various Kashmiri dishes, drinks and specially pallavos, which are even still utilized and practiced by the Kashmiri people, have direct influence of Persia and Central Asia on Kashmiris.

With regard to the various sources of entertainment in the Sultanate and Mughal period besides the *Jashans* or convincible parties held on the lovely pavilions, gardens, on the banks of some lakes of Kashmir, with musicians and dancing girls delighted the audiences with their performances. Also sometimes on such occasions, *ragas* and couplets of Lalleshwari (a Kashmiri women *Sufia* poetess) recited by the men and women.

The various fairs and festivals of both Hindus and Muslims along with the annual *urs* occasions at various tombs, *ziarats* and shrines of the saints, Sufis, has been briefly assessed. In our period of study a new type of music called *Sufiana Kalam* was practiced. It was a kind of poetry and its resemblance with that of the Indian and Iranian musical features. Many Kashmiri Sultans and the Chak rulers were very fond of music. Some of the musical instruments utilized in Kashmir during this period have their origin from Persia and Turkistan. But during the Mughal and Afghan period, the Kashmiri music and singing got some setback, which too had been incorporated in the thesis.

Persian remained the official language of Kashmir. The Kashmiri society from the 16th to 18th century was also influenced by the Indian way of life because the Kashmiri merchants, poets, artisans and scholars also travelled outside Kashmir to the entire India. Besides it, the Iranis, Turanis, Afghans and the people from Hindustan

during the period of my research era settled in the Valley of Kashmir and they gave a new shape to the society and culture of Kashmir.

The final (6^{th}) chapter of the present work gives an account of, '*The Impact of Sufism on the Economic trends in Jammu & Kashmir during the 16^{th} to 18^{th} Century A.D.*'

The economy of the Kashmir of the period under review was greatly influenced by the *Sufis, pirs* and *faqirs* and after their death, their tombs and shrines also played a key role in the socio-economic and religious life of the people of Kashmir. Moreover the Sufis especially the Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani of the 14^{th} century and a large number of Sayyids and craftsmen came to Kashmir from Hamadan or Persia introduced and promoted new methods and techniques for arts and crafts which had great influence on the economy of Kashmir. These arts and crafts continued from the sultanate period and few Sultans like Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin etc. also made efforts to promote the arts and crafts in Kashmir. Thus with the passage of time these arts and crafts proved beneficial and fruitful for the economy of Kashmir, all these aspects are relatively discussed.

For example, shawl industry of Kashmir is still known throughout the world. Though the shawls were manufactured and used in Kashmir from the earliest times but during the last Hindu rulers these suddenly disappeared. However, again the credit of re-establishing industry goes to the Sufis and Sayyids who not only brought such crafts to Kashmir, but some of them later on introduced new design and quality of the Kashmiri shawls. It cannot be easily ignored that the Kashmiri shawls were exported to Europe through the hands of a Sayyid and hence these became fashionable in Europe. The Mughal and Afghan rulers no doubt were very fond of Kashmiri shawls. During the Afghan rule in Kashmir, the Kashmiri shawls were exported to India, Iran, Turkistan, Afghanistan and many other countries. All these features and aspects representing the shawl Industry of Kashmir which promoted the Kashmir economy are critically analyzed in the chapter. Besides the Kashmiri shawls, the other crafts for example the famous Kashmiri *Gabbas* were a unique kind of floor covering in Kashmir during the Mughal and Afghan period and even today are utilized in Kashmir. It is claimed that this industry had its origin from Kabul.

On the other hand the carpet industry of Kashmir was initially started by the efforts of the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin who called the artisans from Samarqand, but after his death, a long period, this art disappeared from the valley of Kashmir. Again it was during the Mughal Emperor Jahangir’s reign that a Kashmiri pilgrim while returning from *hajj* brought specific tools for such art from Persia and therefore this art again flourished in Kashmir, and Kashmiri carpets were in great demand during the Mughal period.

Silk industry of Kashmir which continued from the Sultanate period and was prevalent in the Mughal period also, has been discussed in the chapter in detail. However, the art of paper production in Kashmir was brought by the Muslim emigrants from Persia and Samarqand during the 14^{th} / 15^{th} centuries. During the Mughal period Kashmiri paper was in great demand in India. There were many qualities of paper including a natural one called *Bhoj Patar* or a *Tus,* which was also utilized as a paper. The European travelers of the 18^{th} century in Kashmir also had praised the quality of the Kashmiri paper.

Art of calligraphy was an art known to the Kashmiris and there were some prominent Kashmiri calligraphists in the court of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and were awarded with great titles as a reward and regard by the Mughal emperors. In Kashmir many types of calligraphy scripts were used, all such features have been analyzed.

The agriculture remained the main source of income for running the state administration right from the Sultanate period of Kashmir up to the end of the Muslim rule in Kashmir. So the type of taxes and levies were imposed in Kashmir during the 16^{th} / 18^{th} centuries has been briefly included in the study.

Saffron was also another great source of income to the people of medieval Kashmir and it was exported to the various countries viz, India, Yarkand, Tibet and China during the 16^{th} / 18^{th} centuries as it has also a religious significance.

The house building styles of the 16^{th} / 18th centuries and material used in construction have also been furnished. Thus due to the Sufis and Sayyids penetration into the Valley of Kashmir, the art and architecture of Kashmir also got influenced. The impact of Sufism on the architectural features of the buildings of the Medieval Kashmir

is still could be seen. The different techniques in the wood work had their origin and influence from Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia. But the promotion and improvement of Kashmiri art and architecture with these outside emigrants remained beneficial for the state economy of the Medieval Kashmir.

Finally there is a list of some prominent *khanqahs*, *mosques*, *dargahs*, *shrines* and *ziarats* situated in different districts of the Jammu and Kashmir. An attempt has been made to show the rare illustrations with the brief explanations within the context of literary, oral and physical survey basis of the concerned region. All these religious buildings and monuments of study period give us first-hand information about many important aspects of Kashmiri life, adding to our socio-economic and cultural detailed information. As a matter of fact, even the present arts and crafts of Kashmir which is a major source of income to the people of Jammu and Kashmir owe its introduction and encouragement to the period of Sultans, Mughals and Afghans. Besides all the above mentioned religious buildings played a crucial role in the promotion of communal harmony, composite culture and the economic conditions of the Kashmiri people and proved the primary sources of art and architectural style and the other religious influence.

CHAPTER- I

Geo-Political Condition of Jammu & Kashmir on the eve of 16th Century A.D.

Though the state originally known by the name of Kashmir to the whole of world. Yet, since the advent of Islam it is difficult to identify the actual geographical boundaries of the region. The inhabitants of this state are called Kashmiris, and are identified by their culture, language, and art of living which makes them different from their neighbours. It is claimed that a nation some 6000 years old on the basis of ancient written records.[1]

Kashmir is located at a very altitude, due to its weather it mostly remains cold and also varies from time to time with two extremes of temperature. One more thing is that it is situated in the subtropical zone. P.A. Koul, therefore has used this proverb about Kashmir in his work, "*Kashmir, Pankha Postin*" (in Kashmir one must have fan and fur together), it is true to some extent because in winter temperature goes down and snow falls, some lakes and rivers got frozen. The river Jhelum was frozen at various times in winter season for example in the winter of 1658, 1764, 1759, 1780, 1816, and 1835, 9th December 1879 and 1st February 1895. The winter of 1759 A.D. had created a record of cold and the river Jhelum frozen over as long as 31st March which is penned in the following Kashmiri couplet[2]:-

Kah shat tah dusatat os sanai

Hutimi navime lajiye Veth

1172 (Hijra i.e., 1759 A.D.) was the year

On the 9th of Pisces (31st March) the Jhelum got frozen over.

These lines are quoted from P.A Koul, that, "The spring, though wet, is pleasant, the fresh green tints of the trees and the mountain-sides being refreshing to the eye; the summer is hot though not oppressive, and the autumn is dry and healthy."[3]

"The Kashmiris divide the year into six seasons, viz, *Sont* spring, *Retakol* summer, *Waharat* rainy season, *Harud* autumn, *Wandah* winter, and *Shishur* frosty

1. Iqbal Ahmad, *Kashmir Heritage Tourism*, Srinagar, 2007, p. 5
2. P.A. Koul, *Geography of the Jammu and Kashmir State*, Lahore, 1987, p. 14
3. Ibid.

season. Thunderstorms occur at the end of *Shishur* frosty season which mark the transition of the season to *Sont*."[1]

The climate of Kashmir which always attracts the outsiders and the poet sings the following couplets regarding the weather of Kashmir:

Har sukhta jane ki ba Kashmir darayad

Gar murgha kabab ast aba balu-par ayad.

Any burnt creature entering Kashmir,

Even if a roasted fowl, it shall grow feathers.

"The valley is gay with greenery and flowers of diverse kinds in spring and summer, and in autumn the trees are resplendent in the gorge coloring and laden with delicious fruits."[2]

To Yeng and Sung (578 A.D.) were the Chinese travelers who in their narratives calls it as Shiemi. In 631 A.D Heun Tsiang a Chinese traveler visited Kashmir from China. He gave the name "Kia-Shi-mi-lo to Kashmir.[3]

However Kashmir is having multi meaning of its name. About Kas-mir, noted historian Bamzai writes 'Kas' means a channel and 'mir' meaning a mountain. Thus it also means a deep trough with rocky walls.[4] 'The word Kashmiri is a Persian or Hindi, and is derived from the Sanskrit Kashmirika'. The Kashmiris in their own Kashmiri language call it by shorter term of 'Kashir', and the language which they use known as Koshur.[5]

The name Kashmir also implies "land dried out from water," from Sanskrit *Ka* 'water, *Shimira* to dry out.[6]

Abu'l-Fazl which describing the Subah of Kashmir in the *Ain-i-Akbari* gives much space to Kashmir keeping in mind that it is a sacred place, land of pious hermits "appropriate to be the retired abode of the recluse." and because of its natural beauty here Jarret quotes Abu'l-Fazl's statement that he himself says, "This Sufis paradise is

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1. *Geography of the Jammu and Kashmir state*, op. cit., p. 14
2. Ibid., p.15
3. P.N.K Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 4
4. Ibid.
5. Abu'l-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. 2, (tr.), Colonel H.S. Jarret, New Delhi, 1978, p. 350
6. *A History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 4

said to contain a temple of liberal broadminded worshipers of God,". For which he wrote a charming inscription printed by Blochman at the end of his life of Abu'l-Fazl in the first Volume of his translation (pp. xxxii-xxxiii)"[1].

Right from the very early geography had played a key role on the social and political history of Kashmir. The life and character of the Kashmir is always influenced by its rivers, springs, soil and climate. On the other hand among its natural features the mountains played a crucial role as a protective walls to the country.[2]

These mountains besides protecting the country from the foreign invasions from the long periods but also had a historical existence of marked individuality.[3]

The country of Kashmir is known throughout the world because of its natural beauty and wonders.[4] "So for the political topography of Kashmir is concerned, in its south- east was situated the ancient Kashthavata, now called Kishtwar, on the upper Chenab. Lower down the river lies Bhadravakasa or modern Bhadarwah. Between Kasthvata and ancient Trigarta (Kangra) lay the hill state of Champ-po or Chamba. To the west of Chamba and south of Bhadravaksa was situated another state called Vallapura or Ballavar. The territory to the south of the Pir Panjal range was occupied by the tribe of the Khasas. Rajpuri, now known as Rajuri, was, however, then the most important of all the states of the hill region. It lay to the south-east of Kashmir. On the north-west of Rajapuri was located the kingdom of Lohara or Poonch, and the north-west of the later was the Jehlum valley. Further west beyond the course of the Jehlum laid Urasa or Hazara and also Pakhli. To the north-west of Kashmir was situated the tract known as Karnaha or Karnav and inhabited by the Khasas. The valley of Kishanganga lay to the north. The upper course of this river was known as Dardadesa or Dardistan. The Tibetan inhabitants beyond the Zojila Pass were called the Bhauttas, and ladakh and Baldistan developed in to strong principalities of theirs."[5] M.L Kapoor on the basis of a Venetian traveler Marco polo's accounts mentions that during the very close of the 13th century a colony of the Muslims were inhabited in Kashmir. And during the time of Suhadeve, number of people of Kashmir were accepted Islam.

1. Abu'l-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 349
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Srinagar, 1974, p. 17
3. Ibid.
4. Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (tr.), N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, Delhi, 1991, p. 424
5 M.L. Kapoor, *Kingdom of Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2005, pp. 7-10

Jammu & Kashmir, called by shorter name ‘Kashmir’ also comprises Baltistan, Gilgit, Hunza, Ladakh and Nagar, is one of the major states in the Indian Union. It is also one of the highest habitations in the world.[1] So for the geographical outlook of Kashmir is concerned there is no similarity to it in the entire Himalayas[2]. Therefore geographically the state is having its unique position. In between the mountainous land of Himalayas there is a vast territory that makes northern boundaries of Punjab and of Jammu & Kashmir. It separates India and its hilly tract which is up to Tibet and Ladakh etc. from Central Asia[3].

The area of Kashmir is 84 miles in length and 40 miles in breadth from North West to South East. It is having the area of 19 thousand square miles above and is at the height of six thousand feet from the sea level. The hills of its mountains are about 18 thousand high though Nanga Parbat is about 27 thousand feet high. In the North of it, there is Tibet Hurid (Ladakh), Tilale, Dar Aawar, Baltistan, Hasura, Aiskar Do. In South, Akhnur, Jammu, Poonch, Noshera, Kishtwar, Bhadharwah, Jhelum, Gujarat, Sialkot. In the east there is Dross, Hizar, and Rawalpindi.[4]

“The valley of Kashmir has, from ancient times, been divided into two major parts: Kamraz (Sanskrit, Kamraja) and Maraz (Sanskrit, Madavaraja). Maraj or Maraz comprises both the banks of river Jhelum in the east of Srinagar and Kamraz extends along the river Jhelum in the west of Srinagar. During the Muslim rule it appears that Srinagar was the chief city of Maraz and Sopore the headquarters of Kamraz.”[5]

The plains, the foot hills, the Pir Panjal mountain range which are the distant areas, such as the central Himalayan Zone and the upper Indus Valley are rightly defined zones of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.[6]

Jammu (the winter capital of the state) is mainly surrounded by plains which are characterized by fan-like alluvial deposits from streams discharging from the foot hills. Although the rain fall is a bit low but the heavy rain falls in this region from June to

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1. Turkkaya Alaov, *Kashmir and Neighbors, Tale, Terror, Truce*, Aldershot; Ashgate, 2001, p. 2
2. *Kashmir Heritage Tourism*, op. cit., p. 5
3. Zahoorul Hassan, *Nigarustan-i-Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2002, pp. 114-15
4. Ibid., pp. 114-15
5. Gulam Mohi-ud-din-Dar, *Social and Religious Conditions on the Eve of Spread of Islam in Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1992, pp. 2-3
6. Allan Stacey, *Visiting Kashmir, London*, 1988, p. 16

September when the monsoon winds swiftly blow. This countryside is mainly covered by trees of which the thorn shrubs and grass is the natural flora.[1]

Kashmir is a place where many countries of central Asia, east, west and south Asia are touching with 17 exit routes leading the boarder of Pamirs. The western boarders meeting with Afghanistan, its southern borders with India and south-west Pakistan are actually the main ways of communication to outside world.[2]

Different Passes and ways through the Pir Panjal Moutain Range

Geographically the **Banihall pass** that connects Kashmir to Jammu region is obviously not only the nearest but also the easiest route. This route right from the ancient times considered as the trade route connecting Kashmir to the rest of India.[3] Kashmir also got the title of ***Iran-i-Sagir*** or the little Iran by the outstanding poets like Mullah Tahir Gani, Muhammad Zaman Nafi and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi.[4] The Central Asian Republics is also close neighbours to the Kashmir Valley.[5] Sheikh Bashir Ahmad Ahmad in his book, *'An Economic study of Jammu And Kashmir State'* writes, "It is bounded in the north by Chinese and Russian Turkistan, Pamir and Yarkand; in the east by Chinese Tibet; in the West by Yagistan or the North Western Frontier Province of Pakistan and in the South by Indian states of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. The state has an extremely rugged topography and in general, a very high elevation. Much of the northern part of state is covered with snow and rock and is uninhabited.[6]

The Muslim community of Kashmir is one of the oldest existing Muslim communities in the Indian subcontinent. Long before the "Muslim rule" was established in 1320, Muslims had entered the valley as traders and soldiers of fortune. Pandit Kalhan's references to Turuk Shahs (Turks)[7] and Marcopolo's evidence regarding the employment of the "Saacens"[8] as butchers by the Hindus speak of the earliest Muslim settlements in Kashmir. But it must be explained that the "Muslim

1. *Visiting Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 16
2. Dr. Majid A. Siraj, *Kashmir: Desolation or Peace*, Srinagar, Rep., 2003, p. 16
3. P.N.K.. Bamzai, *Kashmir and Power Politics, The Heart of Asia,* Delhi, 1966, p. 10.
4. Ibid., p. 17
5. Maj Gen (Retd) Afsir Karim, AVSM with the Indian defense Review Team, *Kashmir the troubled Frontiers*, p. 5
6. Dr. Sheikh Bashir Ahmad, An *Economic study of Jammu and Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2004, pp. 7- 9
7. Kalkhan, *Rajtarangini*, (tr.), Stein, Delhi, 1961, p. 179
8. H. Yule, *The book of Sir Marco Polo*, London, 1903, pp. 176-77

Rule" was established in Kashmir not as a result of a foreign invasion; it is the internal chaos that finally led to the decline of the "Hindu Rule".[1] "The **Zojila Pass** (11,300 feet), links Kashmir with Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet, besides the Central Asian regions of Badakshan, Samarqand, Khutlan, Bukhara, Kashgar etc."[2] It was actually only this pass through which that Rinchana a Buddhist ruler who later on converted to Islam entered to Kashmir. Mirza Haidar Dughlat during 16th century first invaded Kashmir through this pass. The **Zoji-La Pass** also played a role of bridge for consolidating the cultural and commercial relations between Kashmir, China and Turkistan.[3] This pass begins at the junction of Haramukh and the Nanga Parbat mountains crossing through 11,300 peaks into Baltistan and Ladakh and then on to Tibet and Mongolia.[4]

Through Srinagar to Kashgar road, wool was brought from Kashgar to Kashmir for shawl makers. But unfortunately this road also brought under Chinese army in Aksai Chin, it was the territory of Kashmir but from 1962 it comes under the control of China.[5]

Budil Pass: It is the short cut way over the Pir Panjal from the valley to Akhnoor. But is a difficult and people walk on a foot through this pass.

Rupri Pass: It covers the distance of 1300 feet north-west direct to Rajouri through this route the pilgrims used to walk on foot to Nandan Sar.

Mughal Road: This road passes the Pir Panjal range through Kosarnag and also crosses through Rajouri and Poonch road. A famous **Shrine of Shadra Sharif** is located on this road near Thana Mandi. Thana Mandi is the market of wood craftsmen. On this road there are Saraies built by the Mughals. The Mughal Emperors mostly used this road for travelling. They used to stay and rest at these Sarais on this road. This road further elaborated from Pohina to Aliabad. This road can be very useful if both the parts of Kashmir i.e. Indian Kashmir and Pakistan occupied Kashmir returned to one country as it was earlier.[6]

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1. *Kingdom of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 7-10
2. Ibid.
3. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Delhi, Rep., 2005, p. 26
4. *Kashmir: Desolation or Peace*., op. cit., p. 19
5. bid., p. 20
6. ibid., p. 18

Jhelum Gorge: It was direct high way contact to outer world. It simply located along the Jhelum River and it links district Baramullah of Kashmir to Muzafarabad in the Pakistan occupied Kashmir. This road comes into existence by the invasion of Afghans. Moreover it was the shortest way into Peshawar through Hazier.

Hag Ir Pass: This pass can be crossed to reach Poonch from Baramullah through Ir and the Hag Pass which is just over 8652 feet. This is possible through winter season of the Valley.

Routes:

The three major routes connecting Kashmir to India are: (i) Jhelum Valley Road (ii) Shupiyan Road and (iii) Banihal Road. Hence Jhelum Valley Road is 196 miles long, was constructed in 1890 as a Cart road. Covering this distance, by a Tonga from Rawalpindi to Srinagar it took the time of two days but by a motor car one can travel and cover this distance in one-day. The competent judges consider this road as one of the finest mountain roads in the world. The bullock carts and *ekkas* were also used through this road for the purpose of trade. On this route we also find a Sarai at Gojra village near Muzaffarabad and another Sarai above Uri at the Paranpila village on the right bank of the river. These Saraies were built by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. Secondly the **Shuypiyan road,** it was once highway particularly during the Mughal period the Mughal emperors used this route to enter Kashmir. But the present condition of the road is very bad. However on this road there are some Sarais built by the Mughal Governor Ali Mardan Khan for the travelers during the different stages in the reign of Shah Jahan in 1651-58 A.D., but now these Sarais are in the condition of ruins. The only Shypiyan road is no doubt having its unique mountainous greenery and beauty of natural scenery.[1]

Route to Ladakh. It was the route through which the Rinchna entered Kashmir and later become the source of down fall of the Hindu rule in Kashmir. And Mirza Haidar Dughlat also invaded Kashmir first in 1532-33 A.D. through this route.[2]

"Leitner, Dardistan" by Herodotus quoted by Dr. R. K. Parmu that he refers to the town of 'Kaspatros' in connection with the anxiety of Darius to examine the flow

1. *Geography of the Jammu and Kashmir State*, op. cit., pp. 89-90. Jahangir was very much interested in the construction of roads, Sarais, and gardens.
2. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, N. Elias (ed.) and (tr.), E. Denison Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London, 1885, p. 423

of the Indus in to the sea. Kaspatros has been identified with 'Kashpauros' or the town of 'Kashyapa', the legendary founder of Kashmir. Parmu further says that, "according to Babur, the name 'Kashmir may be derived from the hill-tribe, 'Kas'". Parmu also states that Dr. Steins had identified 'Kas' with the Khasas, who inhabited the lower Jhelum valley. Apart from the foregoing classical notices there is an ancient legend, according to which Kashmir was originally a vast lake, called 'Satisaras' (the lake of Sati, the wife of Siva). In course of time, it was occupied by demon Jalodbhava (water-born). He caused much distress to all neighbouring areas. He was eventually killed by sage *Kasyapa*, who then dried up the lake then he settled the land.[1] Abu'l-Fazl also mentions the same legend that originally the whole mountainous area of the Valley of Kashmir was overlain by water and called Sati Sar. Here Sati is the name of the wife of *Mahadeva* and Sar means a lake. As after the early inhabitation of the land before Akbar the Mughal emperor 4,701 solar years, according to legend, Abu'l-Fazl mentions that *Kasyapa* (who was the son of Marich son of *Brahma* and was father of Vivaswat the father of Manu, also considered one of the seven great Rishis of the Hindu period) had cut down the lake at Barmullah is regarded as one of the great among the ascetics brought in Brahmans to inhabit the Valley.[2]

This land witnessed the advent of Mouryas, Greeks, Kushsans, and Huns. For quite a long period, its people were allowed to rule their land themselves, as local dynasties such as Karkotas, Utpalas, Lahouras and late Lahouras were followed by Muslim Sultans of Shahmeeri and Chak dynasties.

In fact up to that particular period 18th century A.D. the political history of Kashmir is divided into four different parts. Firstly, the famous chronicle showing the early period of Hindu Kings. The second part shows the *Sultan-i-Kashmir,* that is, period of the Kashmiri Muslims, third part is the *Padshah-i-Chagatai* or *Shahan-i-Mughlia*, it is the Mughal period in Kashmir. The fourth period is called *Shahan-i-Durani,* that is, period of the Phathans.[3]

In Ancient Kashmir various Hindu princes ruled among these Damodra (son of Kishan) died in a fighting on the banks of Sind. However his wife being pregnant and

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1. R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim rule in Kashmir1320-1819*, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 37-38
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit. , p. 376
3. Walter. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2005, p. 179

astrologers for telling that it would prove a son, Kishan bestowed on him the government of the province. Hence thirty five princes succeeded, but through their tyranny no one has been remembered even their names. Thus when Lavah ascended the throne his just was universally administered and his actions were quite appreciable. Therefore a great city Lavapur was founded by him in Kamraj area of Kashmir.[1]

On the succession of Ashoka the son of Janakas's paternal uncle, he transferred from Brahman-cal religion to Jain faith. He was a man of high virtues and his son Raja Jaloka was famous for his justice. He made various conquests, returning from Kanauj he brought with him a number of learned and enlightened men. So Buddhism emerged here at that time.[2]

During the late 2nd century B.C., the kingdom of Ashoka was extended from Bengal to Deccan and even up to Afghanistan. It is also believed that mighty Ashoka conquered Kashmir around 250 B.C. Himself a convert of Budhism, Ashoka made it the official religion of the whole region, and further is credited with the founding of the city of Srinagar, basically some 6 kilometers (3 ¾ miles) north of present city.[3] Srinagar was counted in one the oldest cities of India at that time.[4] During his reign trading relations with countries like China, Egypt and Greece flourished. It was also a period of multi-cultural activities along with influences in art and architecture.[5]

So far **Damodar** is concerned, it is said about him that he was among the descendants of Ashoka. Though he was a pious devout prince yet through the course of an ascetic he was transformed into a snake. It was during the reign of **Raja Nara** the Brahmans prevailed over the Buddhists and leveled their temples to the ground. **Raja Mihirkal** was very tyrant and cruel but due to his good luck he made various extensive conquests.[6]

Raja Gopadist was a man of high learning because of his justice his ruling power increased. He restricted the animal slaughter and hence people avoided eating flesh. A temple that sustains now on the Solomon's Hill was erected by his minister.[7]

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 376
2. Ibid., p. 377
3. *Visiting Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 13
4. *Kashmir and Neighbors, Tale, Terror, Truce,* op. cit., p. 2
5. *Visiting Kashmir,* op. cit., p.13
6. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 377
7. Ibid., p. 378

Raja Judishthira ruled the state in his initial stage very smoothly but with the passage of time he fill in the luxuries life and with the friendship to some of his close men, but his subjects raised against him. On the other hand the kings of Hindustan and Tibet were also stood against him. With the result the chiefs of Kashmir put him into prison.[1]

It was during the reign of **Raja Tanjin (Tunjin)** that a heavy snow fell and the sun was in Leo (July, August). It also destroyed the crops and a terrible famine threw the Kashmir Valley into disaster.[2]

Raja Jayandra had a minister wise, loyal and virtuous and void of lightness and dissimulation. Very soon he succeeded to the throne, but his experience of life induced him to depart into retirement.[3]

Meghavahan was famous for his virtues, he gave peace and security to Hindustan as for as the borders of the ocean. "After the death of **Raja Hiran** without issue, the chiefs of Kashmir paid allegiance to **Raja Bikramajit** the ruler of Hindustan. Raja **Matrigupta** was a learned Kashmiri Brahman. Bikramajit profited by his wisdom but did not advance his temporal interests."[4]

Raja Parvarsena had departed from the Valley and hence lived in Hindustan. He was predicted by a devoted servant of God that he would become ruler. Keeping this idea in mind he went to Nagarkot and lived himself at that place. On the death news of Biramajit, **Matri Gupta** resigned from the throne and moved for Benares lived in isolation. Parvarsena was famous for his virtuous like his justice and liberty. He founded Srinagar (earlier it had been founded by Ashoka (263-226 B.C.) the capital of the country and with dense populous during his rule with 600,000 houses. He with great generously and greatness sent to Matrigupta the total of the eleven years revenue of Kashmir which that dignitary bestowed up on the needy. However **Raja Ranaditya** was a prince who made various conquests. About him there is a strange legend that in the adjoining of Kishtwar close to river Chinab he entered a cave with all his family and other courtiers and after that he was not seen anywhere. Raja Baladitya attacked

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 378-79

Hindustan and extended his dominions to the boarders of the sea.[1] Raja **Chandrapira** was a very kind and chaste ruler.[2]

Raja Lalitaditya worked for the peace and prosperity of his kingdom and he overran Iran, Turan, Faris, Hindustan, Khata and the habitable globe and administered with absolute justice. He passed away from this world in the mountains of the north, it is also said about him that due to a curse of an ascetic he fell from the stone but there is controversy about the matter.[3]

Raja Jayapira had a high dignity and he made many conquests. He was very generous and hence ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine horses were bestowed by him in the charity of Banaras and his gifts to the needy are remarkable symbols of generousness. Thus, when the Raja Jayapira proceeded with the purpose of conquest as he covered some distance, his brother-in-law **Jajja** who was in Kashmir disputed the throne. His nobles with the troubled fear for their wives and children cheated him as they preferred their outward standing before their true honour. With the result Raja alone went to Bengal, and with the help of the soldiers from that country he again gained the position of his kingdom but Jajja being killed in battle.[4]

Raja Lahitapira took low companions in to confidence, when all this was marked by his wise councilors that Raja is going to associate the buffoons they withdrew from the court. As his ministers realized that there is no benefit even after the demonstrations they retired from their offices.[5]

Raja Sankar Varma made various conquests like Gujrat, Sind and also overran the Deccan but left it in the control of its ruler. He followed a virtuous course in the beginning of his reign, but he lacked stronghold over the country.[6] “The intoxication of of worldly prosperity plunged him into every voice.”[7]

Raja Jasaskardeva was an honest and just-able ruler. It was in the reign of **Sinhadeva** (**Suh-Deva**) a Muslim named Shah Mir who resembles his concern to Arjun

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1. Ibid., pp. 379-80
2. Ibid., p. 380
3. Ibid.,
4. Ibid., pp. 380-81
5. Ibid., p. 381
6. Ibid., p. 381
7. Ibid.

was in the royal service. Meanwhile during this time **Dulju** who was the chief commander under the king of Qandahar, attacked and plundered the kingdom of Kashmir.[1] It was in the season of early spring A.H. 727 (A.D. 1323), Zulchu attacked and entered Kashmir via Baramullah route. He marched along with a huge army of 70 thousand Mongol and Turk soldiers and horse men. The soldiers of Zulchu on his orders made havoc by massacring the masses right from the northern Kashmir up to the south Kashmir. Some people tried to flee away towards the mountains but they were arrested. Men were killed and women and children enslaved and later were sold to the traders and merchants of Cathay who had accompanied his troops. The soldiers made such cruel activities on Kashmiri people that they burnt everything including the buildings of the city and even the villages of Kashmir. This was one of the worst attacks that Kashmir had badly faced.[2] About Dulcha or Zulchu it is said that a Turkish, Mongol or Tatar origin also called as Zulqadar Khan but it is not all proved that he was a Muslim or not.[3] During this attack the **Raja Suhadev** took refuge in the mountain passes and levied forcible contributions on the people, and sent them to him and entreated him as a supplicant. With the result the invader had to return back because of heavy snow fall and unsuitable weather he also loosened many of his troops. About the same time from Tibet **Rinjan (Rinchan Shah)** the son of the ruler of Tibet also invaded Kashmir, in nutshell there was great distress circumstances at that time.[4] Rinchan Shah left Tibet because of some opposition of enemies. On his arrival to Kashmir he met to Rama Chand who was the army commander of Suhadev. Rama Chand managed a place at Gagangir for Rinchana.[5] On the death of Suhadev the political power transferred into the hands of Rinjan (Rinchan Shah). Hence he also appointed Shah Mir his minister.[6]

However Shahmir got the chance for ruling actually when Mongol invader Dulacha invaded Kashmir, Kashmiris were ruthlessly exploited. With the result Suhadev also fled for hiding. On the other hand Shahmir apparently consolidate the people and in this situation Rinchana a Ladakhi Buhatta ascended the throne. Rinchana

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1. Ibid., pp. 381-82
2. Anonymous, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), Kashi Nath Pandit, Calcutta, 1991, p. 17
3. G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, New Delhi, 1974, p. 118
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 381-82
5. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, op. cit., pp. 16-17
6. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 381-82

who was a converted Muslim from Buddhism ruled for a short period of three years (1320-23 A.D.).[1] On the death of **Rinchan Shah**, as the **Kota Rani** who was still by heart a Hindu lady, she invited her brother-in-law **Udyanadeva** from Gandhara (Peshawar), brother of Raja Sahadeva whom she was earlier married.[2] Udanadeva ruled over Kashmir for a period of fifteen years, two months and two days but it was the period of chaos and confusion.[3] Udyandeva died in February 1339 A.D. Kota Rani shifting to Andarkot, she was having the knowledge about the growing power of the Shahmir and hence she declared herself as the ruler of Kashmir. On the other hand, Shahmir planed the murder of her Prime Minister through an act of conspiracy. He imprisoned the Kota Rani along with her two sons Haidar and Jatta and Shahmir himself ascended the throne of Kashmir. In this way the Hindu rule ended in Kashmir with the death of Kota Rani in 1339.[4] However on the death of Udyanadeva Shah Mir married his widow.[5] In the year 742 A.H. / A.D.1342 *Khutba* was read in his name and even coins were minted in his name, **Shah Mir** ascended the throne with the title of Shams-ud-Din. He imposed a tax 1/6[th] on all imports into Kashmir.[6]

One thing or a change that emerged during the Sultanate period was the good government and political stability which was not before the Sultanate period. Before the Sultanate period there was political disturbance. In the Sultanate period Shahmir also abolished many exploiting taxes to the peasants. Shahmir did all this for the welfare of his subjects. As the local chiefs (the Damaras, the Lavanyas etc.) did not compare themselves with a good statesman like Shahmir and strategic soldier Rinchana found the state by his military strategies and activities. [7]

Lavanyas were ruling the State in a feudatory manner but Rinchana maintained law and order by which the power of these feudatories weakened. Here it is quoted by Aprana Rao from Jonaraja, in the words of Jonaraja, **Rinchana's age** was the **"golden age".** One more thing is that Brahmans were of the understanding that the Sultan was

1. N.K., Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir An age of Enlightenment*, Lucknow, 1976, pp. 8-9
2. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 127-28.
3. Ibid., p. 129
4. *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir An age of Enlightenment*, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
5. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 382
6. Ibid.
7. Aparana Rao, (ed.), *The Valley of Kashmir. The Making and Unmaking of a composite culture*, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 151-52

not against their religion. It was fact that the Sultan never indulged in the religious matters of the Hindus or Buddhists. The Sultan treated his subjects without any discrimination on the basis of religion. It appears from one of the events that Shihab-ud-Din (1354-73) suggested by one of his Hindu ministers named Udayasri, that the Brass Image of Buddha should be melted for the purpose of minting money. According to Jonaraja, that Shihab-ud-Din very angrily rebuked his Hindu Minister that the earlier it was an image of god used for the worship so it will be a bad thing to do so. Another important thing was the Sultan's matrimonial alliances* with the adjoining Hindu Raja's. It also helped in the strengthening of the country, through the confidence and help of the non-Muslims.[1]

Generally the whole of Northern India in the early fourteenth century was ruled by Alaud-Din Khalji (1296-1316) but the Kingdom of Kashmir was yet out of the hands of Muslim rulers. Although with the successive rule of Hindu dynasties like Karkota's (613-855 A.D.), Utpalas (855-1003 A.D.), and Loharas (1003-1309 A.D.), Kashmir suffered of a number of invasions but all of these ended in unsuccessful manner. But finally Kashmir fell in the hands of Muslim rulers. It transferred from the Hindu rulers to the Shahmir who was a fugitive from the adjoining area and he ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1339 with the title of Sultan Shams-ud-Din as the first Muslim Sultan of the Sultanate period.[2]

Waqir Shah was the grandfather of Shahmir. He was a very religious man who got spiritual guidance from the very pious saints and Shaikhs of that time. Although because of different threats he had attained knowledge of inner aspect. Because of such high spiritual knowledge he once announced: "My son Tahir will be given a son named Shah Mir who will become the ruler of Kashmir and assume the title Shams-u'd-Din. The kingdom of that region and the government of those lands will remain entrusted to and confirmed in the hands of his descendants for a long time." [3]

When Shahmir grown up he heard the statement of his grandfather through his father and his relatives about him, he was already understanding about the spiritual dignity of his grandfather. Therefore with full confidence he migrated towards Kashmir

1. Ibid., p. 153 * Sultan Sikandar had a Hindu wife named Shoba Devi. She is reputed to have constructed a Shiva temple with a golden *linga*.
2. Dr. Nizam-ud-Din Wani, *Muslim rule in Kashmir,* Delhi, Rep. 1993, p. 1.
3. *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* (English tr.), op. cit., p. 16

along with his wife and children. On his arrival at Baramullah the ruler of Kashmir Suhadev welcomed him and made an arrangement for his stay at Dwarksil.[1]

Shahmir was from the offspring's of the chiefs of *Panchagahvara**. He was Khasa by tribe. His arrival in Kashmir in 1313 A.D. along with his tribe was for the purpose of his future righteousness and for employment, in this context the Hindu Raja Suhadev accepted him in his royal service. Quru Shah and Tahir Ali are mentioned as his father and grandfather originally the family was converted very early from Hinduism to Islam.[2]

The sultanate of Kashmir was founded in 1320 AD., later it was consolidated by Sultan Shahmir, but it does not represent that in the Sultanate period there was an Islamic State.[3]

A Kashmiri calendar starting from 725 A.H., i.e., 1323 A.D. was introduced by Shahmir in Kashmir. He was Sunni Muslim by faith and he also tried to popularize the Sunni doctrines in Kashmir.[4]

During the Hindu period there was a local Hindu calendar in vogue called Loukika. But during the Muslim rule it was also used besides the Muslim calendar. In *Baharastan-i-Shahi* it is also used, for example for the first time this Loukika calendar was used in the chronicle to indicate the death of Sultan Zainu'l'Abidin which corresponds to A.H. 879/ A.D. 1473. Lastly, it was 49 corresponding to A.H. 950 that is 1543 when Loukika calendar was mentioned.[5]

Generally all the Sanskrit historians right from the Kalhana used this Loukika calendar. Basically the Medival Persian Historians used Muslim calendar in writing dates but the author of *Baharastan-i-Shahi* making Sanskrit as a source of his writing had used the Loukika calendar.[6]

Sultan Shmas-ud-Din 740-743 A.H/ 1339-1342 A.C., ruled over Kashmir.[7]After his death his son **Jamshid**, ascended the throne in 743 A.H. / 1342 A.C.

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1. Ibid.
2. *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir An age of Enlightenment*, op. cit., p. 7 **Panchagahvara* is identified with the Valley of Panjgabbar lying between Rajauri and Budil area.
3. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), op. cit., p. 16
4. *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir An age of Enlightenment*, op. cit., p. 9
5. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), op. cit., p. XLII
6. Ibid., p. XLIII
7. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 132

A.C. Hence in the war of succession with his younger brother he was defeated by him at Vantipor (Avantipur) by **Ali Sher** and in the same year he assumed the title of **Ala-ud-Din** in 743 A.H/ 1342 A.C.[1] He issued an order that no unchaste childless woman should have any share of her husband's property from her father-in-law.[2]

Sultan Shihab-ud-Din 755-775 A.H. / 1354-1373 A.C. succeeded his father 'Ala-ud-Din, in 755 A.H. / 1354 A.C.[3] His reign is considered as the prosperous period and he maintained equal law and order in his administration and encouraged learning. His sway overran Nagarkot, Tibet and other areas.[4]

On the death of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din his brother **Hindal** ascended the throne in 755 A.H/ 1389 A.C with the title of **Sultan Qutb-ud-Din**. He ruled over Kashmir from 775-791 A.H. / 1373-1389 A.C.[5]And during his rule a remarkable Sufi **Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani** came to Kashmir and he was highly regarded by the Sultan Qutb-ud-Din.[6]

On the death of Qutb-ud-Din in 791 A.H. / 1389 A.C., his son **Sultan Sikandar** succeeded him. He ruled from 791-816 A.H. / 1389-1413 A.C.[7] He was a strict follower of religious tradition and was an orthodox Muslim. It was during his reign that Timur invaded India and sent him two elephants as Sikandar preferred to pay his respect to that conqueror but on his way he heard that in the Timur's camp it is rumour that the ruler of Kashmir is coming with 1000 horses with the result he returned back and sent his excuse.[8] **Mir Khan** succeeded his father in 816 A.H/ 1413 A.C with the title of **Ali Shah**. He ruled over Kashmir from 816 to 823 A.H / 1413 to 1420 A.C.[9] With the passage of time Ali Shah appointed his brother **Zain-ul-Abidin** as the ruler of Kashmir and himself he leaved for the Hijaz for the purpose of *Hajj*.[10] But on his way his father-in-law (the Jammu Raja) and the chief of Rajouri evil advised Ali Shah to fight the battle with his brother Zain-ul-Abidin. When Zain-ul-Abidin heard this conspiracy against him he went to Punjab and joined with the Jasart of the Khokhar

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1. Ibid., p.134
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 382
3. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 136
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, , op. cit., p. 382
5. *Kashir being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p.141
6. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 382
7. *Kashir being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 143
8. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 382-83
9. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 155
10. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 382-83

tribe. Ali Shah along with the military aid from the Jammu Raja also proceeded towards Punjab. In the bloody battle, Ali Shah was defeated and **Zain-ul-Abidin** became the sovereign of Kashmir. Ferishta further writes that Zain-ul-Abid-Din ascended the throne in the year 826 A.H. / 1422 A.D.[1] Sultan **Zain-ul-Abidin** abolished *Jazia* from the non-Muslims and cow-slaughter was banned. Bahlol Lodhi king of Delhi of the Lodhi dynasty and Sultan Mahmud of Gujrat were having good and friendly relations with him.[2] But G.M.D. Sufi is of the opinion that **Zain-ul-Abidin**, (**Shah Rukh)** or **Shahi Khan** also called **Bad Shah** ruled over Kashmir from 823 - 874 A.H / 1420 - 1470 A.C.[3]

Initially the Shahmiri Sultans were able and capable rulers, later on, with the passage of time the Shamiri rulers became luxurious and there appeared a political disturbance. As there were already some tribes who were waiting for chance to enter Kashmir politics but during the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's* reign (1420-1470) all the things in administration were ruled smoothly. Therefore, these opposed tribes, like Chaks and Magres who could not openly dare to oppose and come forward against Zain-ul-Abidin. But after the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, during his weak successors these tribes benefited the situation. They come forward for the throne of Kashmir.[4]

After the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin the two tribes, Chaks and Magres* were very active in their political phenomenon till the end of the Shahmiri rule in 1554 A.D. when the two groups clashed each other for the political power. As in the early 16th century there was political confusion, the incapable rulers were mainly puppet

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1. Mohomed Kasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (English tr.), John Briggs with the title, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year A.D.1612*, Vol. IV, New Delhi, Rep. 1981, p. 270
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 383-84
3. *Kashir Being a HIstory of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 157.
4. *Muslim rule in Kashmir, op. cit.*, p. 2 *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was the 8th Shahmiri Sultan and the prior to him the other seven Shahmiri Sultans were: Shams-ud-Din (1339-42 A.D.), Jamshed (1342-44 A.D.), Ali Sher (1344-55 A.D.), Shihab-ud-Din (1355-73 A.D.), Qutub-ud-Din (1373-89 A.D.), Sikandar (1389-1413 A.D) and Ali Shah (1413-1419 A.D.) Among these eight Shahmir Sultans, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin is more popular, he is also known as "Badd Shah "of Kashmir that is the great King of Kashmir. He is also considered by some people as the Akbar of Kashmir. During his rule there was peace and prosperity and religious brotherhood, agriculture promoted and arts and crafts, music and literature also were in good position. However Haidar Shah, Hasan Shah, Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah were the later Shahmiri Sultans. These later Shahmiri Sultans were having lack of experience and diplomacy and ability, with the result there started struggle between strong and mutual jealous groups for the attainment of political power. In nutshell it prepared ground for the Chaks to come to the power.

kings. The period is considered as the worst period because there were mutual rivalries, armed confrontation between king and nobles, master and servant. The whole political scenario was disturbed. In this chaos and confusion, Chaks got chance to rule over Kashmir in 1554 for the next thirty two years. There was peace in the Kingdom of Kashmir. Lastly in 1586 Kashmir was conquered by Akbar and it became the part of Mughal India.[1]

As after Zain-ul-Abidin's death Chaks rose to the power and Shams Chak son of Hilmat Chak was the new leader under whose leadership Chaks started their political strategy. Shams Chak lately arrived in Kashmir from Gilgit. In Kashmir he first came in the service of powerful noble Sayyid Muhammad but soon after some time he found another noble Malik Nauroze Itoo, son of Ahamad Itoo and entered in his service. In the service of Malik Nauroze, he found it easy to rise to the power.[2]

The Chaks settled by Zain-ul-Abidin at a Trehgam village of north Kashmir. They brightened their future not in the shape of strong nobles but even they ruled for a quarter of century (1554-1586 A.D) by their own name of Chak dynasty.[3]

Zain-ul-Abidin's elder son tried to ascent the throne of Kashmir on the death of his father but his brother Haji Khan due to much resources shattered Adam Khan's plans and he was forced to leave to Hindustan.[4] **Sultan Haji** ascended the throne with the title of Sultan **Haidar Shah**. He selected his younger brother Barah Khan his minister with a jagir at Nagam. He had chosen his own son as his successor and Chief of the noblemen. Sultan Haidar ruled for a short period from 874 - 877 A.H. / 1470 - 1472 A.C.[5]

Here an important medieval source of Kashmir history *Baharastan-i-Shahi* also mentions about the history and past of **Baihaqi Sayyids** besides the history of the Shahmiri Sultans and Chak dynasty. The author of the *Baharastan-i-Shahi* is of the opinion that Mir Sayyid Mahmud the ancestor of Baihaqi Sayyids was defeated by Timur with the result he left his native land and he along with his other followers went to Delhi, which was ruled by **Sultan Ghiathu'd-Din**. The Sultan granted him some jagir near Delhi in Jarica. When Sultan Skindar of Shahmiri dynasty (A.D. 1393-1416)

1. Ibid., p. 2. *Magres were having an indigenous origin. It was already a tribe existing in Kashmir.
2. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), op. cit., pp. 83-84
3. *Muslim rule in Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 9
4. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 183
5. Ibid., p. 184

was ruling in Kashmir, Sayyid Mahmud for the first time along with his soldiers and other companions arrived Kashmir. However with the interval of time, the Baihaqi Sayyids established their power and position in Kashmir. Hence in 1578 A.D. one of Baihaqi Sayyids, **Sayyid Mubark** ruled Kashmir for a short period of about two months. Thus, when we look into the history of Sultans of Kashmir, it rather appears the history of the Sayyids. In the *Baharastan-i-Shahi* the Sayyids are praised but they showed a little contempt towards the local Kashmiri population. That is why, a controversy rose between the local Chiefs and these Sayyids. Through some other contemporary sources also we find that Sayyids made strenuous efforts to win over the confidence of the Kashmiris.[1]

Srivara in his *Zaina Rajatarangini* states that, Sayyids claimed their direct descent from the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). However when they did not get proper regard from the converted Kashmiri Hindus, then to raise their status as they called the converted Hindus as *Musalman Brahamans* and the other Hindus as *Hindu Brahamans*. Srivara further used the term *Chhij* for Hindus and he give the term *'Mlechhas'* for the converted Kashmiri Hindus.[2]

On the death of Sultan Haidar Shah, his son **Hasan Khan** ascended the throne under the title of **Hasan Shah** and he ruled from 877-889 A.H. / 1472-1484 A.C.[3] Sultan Hasan invaded Punjab and encountering Tatar Khan Lodhi in several actions devasted the country.[4] Though Hasan Shah on his death-bed gave instructions to Sayyid Hasan Baihaqi who was his father-in-law and Zainul-Abi-ud-Din's son-in-law and prime minister of the state, that to set on throne either **Fateh Khan**, son of **Adham Khan** or **Yousf Khan**, son of Bahram Khan. But the minister selected **prince Muhammad Shah**, the son of Sultan Hasan and Hayat Khatoon his own daughter. With the result the prince at that time was mere child of seven years having born in 882 A.H/ 1477 A.C. But it created jealousy among the complainers for the throne. He ruled from 889- 892 A.H. / 1484-1486 A.C.[5]

1. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (Eng. tr.), op. cit., p. xxxvii
2. Ragunath Singh, (ed.), Srivara's, *Zaina Rajatrangini*, Varanasi, 1977, pt. I, Stt. 4:77
3. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 185
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 384
5. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 187-88

However in the 15th and 16th Century, Kashmir witnessed many ups and downs. During the reign of Sultan Hassan Shah an event of great importance occurred that the king of Khurasan, Sultan Husain Mirza sent **Shams-ud-din Iraqi** as an envoy to Kashmir. With few gifts but Sultan Hassan died before getting it. As a result Shams-ud-din Iraqi spent about eight years in Kashmir, where he wanted to preach his religious faith among the people but the circumstances were not favorable for him. Outwardly he tried to show his devotion with Baba Ismail RH but in fact he misguided **Ali Nijar** and in his heart poured spurious faiths. Shms-ud-din engaged the affluent people of Kashmir in different excuse hypocrisy. After eight years when he returned back to Khurasan. Sultan Hussain Mirza came to know about Shams-ud-din Iraqi's inner wickedness and mischief-making. Therefore, he discharged Shams-ud-din Iraqi from the post, and then he again tried to come to Kashmir,[1] and entered Kashmir around 1481 A.D to the court of Sultan Hassan Shah. In 1492 A.D. Shamus-Din Iraqi again came back to Kashmir and described himself as the disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh of Khorasan. He took an active part in the religious and political movements in Kashmir; nevertheless, he made a keen study of the people and their leaders. But actually Nurbakhsh was among the caliphs of Mir Sayyid Ali Sani and his real name was Mubark Sayyid Mohammad Hussani who belonged to the Kubravia order of Sufis but to call him as Iraqi is merely pretends. With the result Iraqi secretly with the help of Baba Ali slowly preached the Shia faith among the Kashmiris and made a *khanqah* in Zadibal Srinagar, and stayed there. Kaji Chak along with Ghazi Khan both used to see Shams-ud-din Iraqi and accepted the Shia faith.[2]

Sultan Fateh Khan ascended the throne under the title of **Sultan Fateh Shah** in 892 A.H. / 1486 A.C., but from here, the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's successors were incapable rulers lacking the administrative qualities. He ruled from 892-898 A.H. / 1486-1493 A.C. His weakness brought the Chaks to the front.[3] In this period of Fateh Shah, **Shah Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi** came from Iraq to Kashmir. He was the disciple of Shah Qasim Anwar. According to Ferishta, Shah Qasim was the son of Sayyid Muhammad Nur Baksh. On his arrival many Kashmiris particularly from the Chak tribe

1. Khwaja Mohammad Azim Diddamari, *Waqait-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, Srinagar, 2001, p. 109.
2. Ibid., pp. 122-123
3. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 189

become converts to the Nur Bakshies (Shias).[1] Hence he preached the Nur Bakshi doctrines from that very period where there started a certain clashes between the Sunnis and Shias in the country.[2]

On the other hand Sultan Fateh Shah wanted that like Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin the whole country of Kashmir will be ruled under his banner. It was in 916 A.H/ 1510-1511 AD that the condition was chaotic. Two important nobles Ibrahim and Malik Usman Dar, the *Sipaslar* were active in politics, soon the leaders and heads of the Dangar dynasty dominated over the Malik Kaji Chak, Jahangir Padder and Gade Malik. Combinedly though they murdered some people and, Malik Usman was imprisoned. Sultan Fateh Shah fled away but after one month Malik Ibrahim Called Sultan Fateh Shah who again ascended the throne of Kashmir and coins were minted in his name. He ruled for one year. After him Mohammad Shah sought help from the Sultan Sikandar Lodhi of Delhi and with his support, he bravely resisted against Malik Nusrat Rina, Malik Kaji Chak and Malik Lohar Magre, compelling Sultan Fateh Shah finally moving towards the mountains where he expired.[3]

Shams Chak with his skill and diplomatic nature and bravery made his position in the politics of Kashmir. He with his strong physique and better military tact fought many battles under Malik Nauraze Itoo and got much fame.[4]

Shams Chak continued his policy of fighting wars till he came under Malik Saif Dar who was the *wazir* of Sultan Fateh Shah (1488-1493 A.D.) Shmas Chak for strengthening his position married the daughter of Husain Chak who was living at Kwaril village in Maraj *pargana* of Kashmir. It becomes clear from the author of *Baharastan-i-shahi* that after these matrimonial alliances among these strong and opposite groups, they became friendly to each other. The blood of both Husain and Shams Chak was the symbol of bravery and the men of Husain Chak joined the Shams Chak. In this way, Husain Chak proclaimed and accepted Shams Chak as the leader of their tribe.[5]

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1. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta,* (tr.), John Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India till the year A.D.1612*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 280
2. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 384
3. *Waqait-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 124-125
4. *Baharistan-i-Shahi,*(English tr.), op. cit., p. 84
5. Ibid.

Sultan Muhammad Shah, second time re-attained his throne in 898 A.H / 1493 A.C., when he was 16 years old, through the great efforts of his maternal uncle Muhammad Bahaqi. And in the second time in 911 A.H/ 1505-1514 A.C. Fateh Shah rewarded Shams Chak by appointing him his minister.[1] The third phase of Sultan Fateh Shah's rule lasted for a period of one year and one month from 921-922 A.H. / 1515-1516 A.C. He divided the country into four equal parts. He gave three among these to Jahangir Padar, Kaji Chak and Sunkur Raina and only one portion he sustained for himself so that peace will be there.[2] Muhammad Shah in the third time recovered the kingdom by the assistance of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi of Delhi, hence during his reign Babur invaded Hindustan.[3] Sultan Muhammad Shah ascended the throne for the fourth time when he was 39 or 40 years of age in 1516 A.C. In that time he ruled over from 1516 to 1528 A.C.[4] Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi a great Kashmiri scholar was born in 1521 A.C. during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah.[5] Kaji Chak put **Ibrahim Shah**, son of Muhammad Shah and his own nephew on the throne. He ascended the throne in 1528 A.C., and ruled in his first phase to 1529 A.C.[6] during the domination of the Ibrahim Shah, Abdal Magre went to the Babur's court and persuaded him that Kashmir should be conquered by him. **Abdal Magre*** dispatched with large Mughal army under the two Mughal nobles Ali Beg and Muhammad Khan. On other hand Nadir Khan, the younger brother of Sikandar Khan and the son of Sultan Fateh Shah informed that the Kashmiris did not imagine that they will be ruled by foreigner as their kings. Sultan Ibrahim Shah's army also marched to face the Mughal army but defeated in heavy losses at Tapar, below Patan, in Tehsil Baramulla, therefore, Ibrahim fled from the country. Therefore in the year 935 A.H/ 1529 A.C. **Nadir Shah** ascended the throne with the title of **Nazuk Shah** and he appointed Abdal Magre as his chief minister. The officers of the Mughal army were also rewarded with gifts and they afterwards returned to Hindustan.[7] However at the fifth time Sultan Muhammad Shah in 1530 A.C., started but at that time Abdal Magre was in domination he was at the post of prime minister

1. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 190
2. Ibid., p. 193
3. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 384
4. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 194
5. Ibid., p. 195
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid. * Abdal Magre was the son of Ibrahim Magre who was the minister in-chief to Muhammad Shah during his second reign.

and it remained in name up to 1537 A.C.[1] In 15 37 A.C **Shams-ud-Din II** who was Muhammad Shah's second son come to the throne for one year up to 1538 A.C. During his reign there was generally conflict between the Chaks and the Magres, but it was fruitfully controlled by the Kaji Chak. In 1538 A.C Sultan Shams-ud-Din II was succeeded by his brother, **Ismail Shah I**, who was the son-in-law of Kaji Chak. He also ruled for one year, up to 1539 A.C. and on his death Ismail Shah I was succeeded by his son Ibrahim II, Muhammad Shah's son. He ruled from 1539 to 1540 A.C., during this period Magres required military aid from Humayun to get rid of Kaji Chak. [2] In the year 948 A. H. / 1541-42 A.C. **Mirza Haidar Dughlat** again in the second time, entered Kashmir and he was in the guidance and support of some native people of Kashmir. He took ownership of a part of Great Tibet. With the result on the other hand Kaji Chak sought the help of Sher Khan from Hidustan and engaged Mirza Haidar Dughlat but was defeated. Therefore, Haidar Dughlat won over Kashmir by diplomatic and peace-making measures. But the *khutba* was read and coins were minted by the name of Nazuk Shah.[3] After having eliminated the powerful Chak nobles, Haidar Mirza Mirza Kasgari made himself the legitimate ruler of Kashmir. Sultan Nazuk Shah was a ruler in name only.[4] The first setback to the Nurbakhshis was at the hands of Mirza Haidar Dughlat who was an orthodox Sunni Muslim but after the death of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, several Sufi saints and Islamic mystics carried on openly their activities throughout all over the Valley. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum was also one of the notable Sufi's who was born in 1494 A.D completed his studies under Baba Ismail Qubravi. Later he was forced by Shia ruler Ghazi Shah to leave Srinagar. He went to Beru a village 20 miles from Srinagar on the Magam road, meanwhile when the tyranny of the Chaks become unbearable, then Hamza Makhdhumi blessed the mission of Baba Daud Khaki, his disciple and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi to Akbar's court to invite the emperor for the annexation of Kashmir to his mighty empire.[5] After his victory in 1540 A.C. Mirza Haidar did not feel himself secure to assume kingship with the result he put Sultan Nazuk Shah to throne as a king but he was in name, Haidar Dughlat was having the real power. It was the second phase of **Nazuk Shah** who ruled up to 1551 A.C.[6] After

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1. Ibid., p. 196
2. Ibid., pp. 199-200
3. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 384-85
4. Fida Hassnain, *The Muslim Kashmir 1320-1589,* Srinagar, 2007, p. 255
5. *A History of Kashmir,* op. cit., pp. 533-34.
6. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 204

Nazuk Shah, his son Ibrahim Shah was placed on the throne but was deposed after a reign of only five months and **Ismail Shah II**, son of Ibrahim Shah I, who was son of Sultan Muhammad Shah was raised to the kingship. In 1555 A.C. he come to the throne, according to Ferishta and died after two years of accession [1] But Dr. Sufi writes that **Ismail Shah II** ruled from 1551 to 1554 A.C and was succeeded by **Sultan Habib Shah** the last of the Shah-Miri Sultans and he was the nephew of Ghazi Chak and the son of Ismail Shah II and the grandson of Sultan Muhamad Shah and ruled up to 1555 A.C., after some time Ghazi Chak changed his policies and directly accused the sultan of various charges, with the result one day in the open court Ali Shah the brother of Ghazi Chak took off the crown from the head of the Habib Shah and put on his brother **Ghazi Chak's** head, and he was proclaimed as their Sultan. **Habib Shah** was removed, in this way Shah-Miri power was transferred to the Chaks in the year 963 A.H. / 1555 A.C.[2]

The Shahmiri dynasty started ruling Kashmir from 1339 and run the administration for about two Centuries from 1339-1554 A.D.[3] After the Shahmiri dynasty, Kashmir fell in the hands of a new dynasty of Muslims called Chaks*.[4] However the Chaks ruled for a short period of 32 years from 1554-86 A.D.[5]

Lankar Chak lived in a Dardu, from there he traveled towards Drav. Due to some family tussle he had chosen the way of migration towards Kashmir. And in Kashmir he settled along with his wife and children in a village Trehgam,* which became the seat of Chaks.[6]

In this *Kamraj* pargana*, there is a spring of sweet water called *Hatarnag* at Trehgam village near which these Chaks resided. In the centre of the village there is an old stone building. Besides it, in the spring the fishes of huge size grow but one could

1. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (tr.), John Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India till the year A.D.1612*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 291
2. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 211
3. A *History of Muslim rule in Kashmir*, op. cit, p. 86
4. *Kashmir under the Sultans*, op. cit, p. 46. *Chaks migrated to Kashmir from Dardistan in the reign of Suhadeva under their leader Lankar Chak, he was appointed by Shahmir as his commander-in-chief.
5. N.K. Sing, *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 1, Srinagar, 2000, p. 144.
6. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), op. cit., p. 16 *Trehgam is a Zonal level village now in the Kupwara district of Kashmir.

not touch them. It is believed that if someone tries to touch them that very person would be affected by some trouble.[1]

Though the Chaks ruled only for a short period (1554-1586) but there remained a deep influence of Chaks on all the aspects like political, religious and cultural trends of Kashmiri people. However with the decline of the Chak rule their influence yet continued in the life of the Kashmiris till they finally reduced to their strength.[2]

Ghazi Chak as the first ruler of the Chak dynasty ruled from 1555 to 1563 A.C., and re-occupied the territories which were drawn away from their hands earlier. All the territories like Skardu, Gilgit, Kishtwar, Pakhli and Mangli (near Pakhli) were not only reoccupied but intelligent governors were also appointed to control them. Even with the rising power of Ghazi Chak some of his own tribesmen revolted against him like Nusrat Chak and Yusuf Chak, sons of Rigi Chak but they were successfully withdrawn. In 1559 **Qara Bahadur**, cousin of Mirza Haidar Duglat on the invitation of Yusuf Chak, the son of Rigi Chak and others with 10,000 horses come to the front against Ghazi Chak, in the bloody battle at Rajouri, Ghazi Chak won the battle and it resulted with heavy loss of 7000 men to Qara Bahadur.[3]

Husain Shah ascended the throne in 970 A.H. / 1563 A.C. He was a kind and tolerant ruler than his brother and attentive about well-being of his subjects. He ruled up to 978 A.H. / 1570 A.C.[4]

However in 1570 A.C. **Ali Khan** ascended the throne with the title of **Ali Shah Chak**. He was also an intelligent and just ruler like his brother Husain Shah Chak. He also showed great admiration towards the saints and *faqirs.* Shaikh Hamza says, to his disciple Baba Dawud Khaki about Sultan that he was good ruler to the Sunnis. Ali Shah appointed Sayyid Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi as a prime minister who was a Sunni and was the grandson of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi.[5] In the year 1576 there came a famine in Kashmir hence the ruling Sultan Ali Shah Chak asked to a well known

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, op. cit, p. 365. *Right from the very early times Kashmir was divided into two parts or districts called *Kamraj* and *Maraj*. However *Kamraj* covered the area of North half of the Valley below the Junction of Sind along with the Jhelum, where as *Maraj* covers South half above the Junction of Sind.
2. *Muslim rule in Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 3
3. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 219-20
4. Ibid., p. 221
5. Ibid., p. 225

darvish Zaiti Chak, who was the disciple of Shakh Hamza Makhdum, how long the famine to last, Zaiti Shah replied frankly that the cessation of famine would synchronize with Ali Shah's death. Ali Shah died while playing polo in the plain of the 'Idgah. He was succeeded in 1579 A.C., by his son **Yusuf Shah Chak**. In the mean time in 1578 A.C. for some time **Sayyid Mubark Khan Baihaqi** was also installed as a ruler. And from 1579 to 1580 A.C **Badi-ud-Din** also called **Gauhar Shah** generally called **Lohur Chak** was the cousin of Yusuf Shah. Hence Abdal Bat was the prime minister under him. Yusuf Shah Chak went to the Akbar's court at Fathpur Sikri on 2 January 1580 to seek his help to regain his kingdom. But Yusuf Shah on Muhammad Bat's advice suspected that Akbar would seize the kingdom himself; that it would be better for him to march alone with a view to sound his countrymen. In this way he again in 1580 re-established his kingdom.[1] Akbar on 20th December, 1585 prepared Raja Bhagavan Das, Shah Rukh Mirza and Shah Quli Khan to proceed up on Kashmir. As victory from the military point of view could not be claimed, Raja Bhagavan Das tried to accumulate the circumstances tactfully by proposing terms, whereupon Yusuf Shah visited his camp. Taking advantage of Yusuf Shah's absence, the Kashmiri nobles put **Ya'qub Khan** on the throne, and further attacked the imperial army, inflicting a great loss upon it. Raja took Yusuf Shah to Akbar's court but Akbar treated him as a prisoner. On the other hand Yaqub Shah, son of Yusuf Shah put to death Qazi Musa. It is clear that Yaqub sought the Qazi to keep the name of Caliph Ali to the exclusion of the other three caliphs of the Prophet in the public prayer. This was objected by Qazi Musa, he frankly said that the worldly rulers had nothing to do with the spiritual matters. This generally provoked the Sunnis of Kashmir Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi and Baba Dawud Khaki petitioned Akbar for help. On 28th June, 1586 Qasim Khan was ordered to move towards Kashmir under an army of forty thousand horsemen and twenty thousand foot. He entered Rajouri and reached to Srinagar.[2] On his defeat Yaqub went Kishtwar to the land of his beloved queen Shankar Devi (Fath Khatun), from here in the year 1587 once again he tried to regain Kashmir but failed. He was the last Muslim independent ruler of Kashmir and died at Kishtwar in 1588 and is buried towards the south of the tank of Sirkot on the Chaugan, outside Kishtwar town.[3]

1. Ibid., pp. 228-29
2. Ibid., 232-34
3. Ibid., pp. 236-37

Although the Mughals right from the fifteenth century tried to invade Kashmir. In 1494 A.D. Babur sent his sepoys towards Kashmir but they could not make space for themselves in Kashmir and they had to return back swiftly. Mirza Muhammad Haidar was the native of Auritapa and Skindar and he was from Kashghar. In 1532 A.D. again they attacked Kashmir but they could not get success in their campaign. Even Humayun tried to conquer Kashmir but failed in his purpose. At last it was during the rule of Akbar 1585 that a deputation of Kashmiris came to his court and requested the Mughal Emperor that Kashmir is misruled, and is in a state of turmoil. Thus a Pact was signed with Akbar based on the following points[1]:-

(a) "That the king shall not interfere with the religious affairs, the purchase and sale of goods and the rates of food grains and cereals.

(b) That the officers of the government shall have no male or female Kashmiri as a slave.

(c) That the inhabitants of Kashmir shall not be molested in any way.

(d) That the nobles of Kashmir having been a source of mischief in the past shall have no share in the administration of the country."

Akbar the great after the annexation of Kashmir to Mughal Empire also took some steps towards its development. He built Hari Parbat fort in Srinagar, city of Nagar, inside the huge wall of this fort. Akbar along with his finance Minister Raja Todar-Mal visited Kashmir and at a place called Pattan stayed in his camp and measured the entire land and fixed the land revenue.[2]

After the death of Akbar his son Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) continued the process of development in Kashmir by building some gardens. As the Mughal ruler architects having keen interest in the founding of gardens, such as Shalimar Bagh, Chesham-e-Shahi, Naseem Bagh and Vir-i-nag which obviously added more beauty to the Valley of Kashmir. Jahangir died at Monohar-galla, in Rajouri on his way to Lahore,[3] and when he was dying someone asked him if he wanted anything, he replied "Kashmir"[4].

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1. *Kashmir the History of Himalayan Valley*, op. cit., p. 212
2. Ibid., pp. 212-13
3. Jahangir, *Memories of Jahangir, emperor of India, The Jahangirnama*, (tr. & ed.), Wheeler M. Thackton, New Yark, 1999, p. 380
4. *Kashmir the History of Himalayan Valley*, op. cit., p. 213

As Shah-i-Jehangir dame naza chu justand
Ba Khwahish-i-dil guft ki Kashmir digar hech.

According to the Census of Asif Khan during the reign of Jahangir, the population of the Kashmir *Subah* was 19430033, out of which there were 90000 local soldiers and 400 foot soldiers and 4892 were the cavalry men.[1]

Zafarnama gives the number as 100000 villages and *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* gives the number as 70000.[2] Mohibbul Hasan highlights the number of villages that it would have been in between 70000-60000 villages during the under Mughal Kashmir to which Dr. Abdul Majid neglects but it is the correct because it is to some extent near on to the estimate given in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.[3]

Abul Faizi is of the view that most of the land was brought under cultivation. In the entire land of the *Subah* of Kashmir three fourth was the mountainous, and the other remaining one-fourth was brought under cultivation and gardens.[4]

The area in between Gugnagir to Ferozpura and Hirapura to Baramullah was generally brought under cultivation.[5] Abdul Majid mentions that, three-fourth of the cultivable land in the *Sarkar*, Kashmir was brought under cultivation. Now most of the areas belonging to *uftadah* and *banjar* land were prepared for the cultivation of cereals, fruit and vegetable crop production. Once again during the later Mughal rule there were political disturbances in Kashmir. The exploitation made by the *jagirdars* by giving land to the highest bidder and on *ijara* demanding from them the amount in short period of time resulted ravenous. With the result many tenants abandoned their own land due to the exploitation of the *jagirdars* and revenue officials. Thus Abdul Majid is right for supporting Faizi’s statement within certain limits, the *uftadah* land was brought under cultivation, lining in jurisdiction of other *jagirdars*.[6]

Another Mughal *Subahda*r Zaffar Khan 1633-1640 A.D. abolished many taxes and cesses like tax on saffron, wood, and poll tax on sheep and tax on boatmen. In

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1. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol. 1, (Urdu) Dr. Shms-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 283
2. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, op. cit., p. 429
3. *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, op. cit., p. 252
4. Abdul Majid Mattoo, *Kashmir Under the Mughals*, Srinagar, 1988, p. 37
5. Ibid., pp. 37-38
6. Ibid., pp. 37-38

1650-1657 A.D. an expedition was preceded towards Tibet by Ali Mardan Khan to suppress the rebel, Mirza Jam and to conquer the Skardt fort. With the result on 15 August 1651 Tibet was also annexed to the Mughal Empire.[1]

During the Aurangzeb's reign, one of the sages in Kashmir called Pir Pandit Padshah was popular among the masses of Kashmir. When this news traditionally came in the notice of Aurangzeb, he called the sage to his court. It is said that the Pir's spirit went to the court through the air and appeared before the Aurangzeb mounted on a lion in a horrible form. Even the emperor got horrified on this occasion. In this way the Pir did not annoyed. Aurangzeb visited Kashmir only once in the year 1663 A.D.[2]

"Saif Khan (1664-1667 A.D.) introduced innovations in the form of new taxations such as (a) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of land in place of the old practice of making a rough eye estimate based on guess, (b) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things from the province ordered by the Emperors (*Casuri-i-Farmaith*), and (c) change in or deduct from men's salaries due. During his second viceroyalty he promoted agriculture by planting colonies and building a city."[3]

The Natural conditions of the Kashmir *Subah* remained very perturbing during the half century Aurangzeb's long reign. There came two earth-quakes (1669 and 1681) and two conflagrations of the capital city Srinagar first in 1672 and 2ndly in 1676, one flood in 1682 and one famine in 1688. On the other hand the conquest of the Great Tibet and whose ruler accepted Islam struck coins and read *khutba* in the name of the emperor and in 1666 A.D. he also built a mosque in the capital and the Mughal Emperor too always stand ready to help the Tibetans at the different occasions.[4]

During the Mughal rule there was political stability in Kashmir, as peace and prosperity, law and order, and good administration, was equally good as in the other *Subhas* of India. Persian too became the official language in the state as it was in the other parts of the country. The only coin system was also applied here. The country got benefited from the service of the experienced Indian and Mughal government and they were also transferred after their fixed tenure. For the security of the Kashmir there was

1. *Kashmir the History of Himalayan Valley*, op. cit., pp. 214-15
2. Ibid., p. 216
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 217

kept a large Mughal army available. During the Mughal period improved road communications were established and *Sarais* were built for travelers. Political unity with the rest of the country and the visits of the Mughal emperors made Kashmir part and parcel of India.[1]

But during the last days of the Mughal rule in Kashmir the internal conditions of Kashmir became worst. Taking the advantage of such circumstances the prominent nobles of Kashmir in 1747 A.D invited the Ahmad Shah Durani to conquer Kashmir, who had succeeded Nadir Shah. The Mughals dominated the state for 166 years. But in 1752 A.D. the Kashmir administration fell in the hands of Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Durani.

Thus with the decline of the Mughal rule in Kashmir the Afghans occupied it and in this way this region once again came under a new great mighty rule. But by the advent of Mughals in Kashmir it also got benefited in the field of communication among India and Kashmir. The Mughals also construct a road from Gujarat ahead through the way Bumber up to Shupiyan. This road till this day is called as Mughal road.[2]

It was in 1585-86 A.D. Kashmir got occupied by the Mughals and its land was annexed with the Mughal Empire. Later on this aggression was followed by Durranis of Kabul, Sikhs of Punjab and Dogras of Jammu. Sometimes the authorities of its own rulers expanded on its outer states. It mostly happened in the regimes of Maharaja Lalitaditya, Sultan Shahb-ud-Din and Sultan Zain-ul-Abid Din but all these expansions and accessions proved timely and could not change the political geography of the land known to all as Kashmir till the advent of Dogra Rajas of Jammu who changed it under the Treaty of Amritsar dated 1846 A.D."[3] The state was given a new name i.e. Jammu & Kashmir state. Earlier Jammu has never been remained its part during its independent Hindu or Muslim periods.

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1. *A History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 462.
2. Muhammad Safuddin Pandit, *Mujza-i-Tawarikh, (Makhtasir Tarikh-i-Kashmir),* (Urdu tr.), Muhammad Amin Pandit, Srinagar, 1962, pp. 163-64
3. *Kashmir Heritage Tourism*, op. cit., p. 6.

In the Jammu and Kashmir during medieval period three types of Muslim rulers (kings) ruled. (a) Independent Sultans. (1320-1586 A.D.) (b) Mughals (1586-1753 A.D.) (c) Pathans (1753-1819 A.D.).[1]

Originally the Jammu & Kashmir state besides having its central position in the Asian continent, it was having an area of 2, 22,236 square kilometers. However among the total area now only 1, 38,942 square kilometers are under the Indian command and 37555 square kilometers are under China and 83,294 square kilometers are under the occupation of Pakistan, out of which Pakistan handed over some 5180 square kilometers to China. It is clear that in total about 42,735 square kilometers of the Ladakh division of Jammu & Kashmir state are under the occupation of China.[2]

The area of Ladakh, Kashmir and Jammu division comes under the present Jammu & Kashmir state. The state is having common boundaries with India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, China, Tajikistan and also its boarders are touching with the Chinese Turkistan boarders.[3] The valley including Jammu, Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar, It was the heart of Asia and covering the area of 86,024 square miles extending from 32°. 17ˈ to 36°. 58ˈ North latitude and 73°. 26ˈ to 80°. 30ˈ East longitude.[4] "It stands on the old Central Asian trade route and the Kashmir valley has from ancient times, been the halting place of caravans travelling between the plains of India and the uplands of Central Asia.[5] A natural division is another geographical feature of the state. It lies between the 'outer Hills' in the south to the lofty mountain ranges of the Pir Panjal separating the Kashmir valley from Jammu, generally called the Middle Mountains. It is at the height of some 4000 to 12000 feet above the sea level.[6] Suresh Sharma and S.R Bakshi agreed that Kashmir is the largest Indian state, being larger even than Hyderabad and co-extensive in area with the four large states of Mysore, Bikaner, Gwalior and Baroda, taken together but Kashmir being mountainous country is sparsely populated.[7] Climate is also an important factor that always attracted people

1. Dr. Sabir Afaqi, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir Islami Uhad Me*, Srinagar, 1997, p. 7
2. *An Economic study of Jammu and Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 7-9.
3. *Kashmir and Neighbors, Tale, Terror, Truce,* op. cit., p. 8.
4. *Kashmir and Power Politics, The Heart of Asia*, op. cit., p. 1.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 2.
7. (Ed.), Suresh Sharma and S.R Bakshi, *Encyclopedia of Kashmir Series-1: (Ancient and Medieval Kashmir),* New Delhi, 1996, p. 1

from cold countries to settle in, the Mughals, the Pathans and later on the British cherished a desire to make permanent home in this paradise on earth.[1]

Leh and Kargil are the two important districts of the Ladakh Province. In Leh there are majority of the Buddhist people and in Kargil there are mainly Shia Muslims. 'The population 140, 000 is spread throughout the enormous expanse of the region.'[2]

So for the Jammu is concerned it is 290 kilometers from Srinagar particularly the city of Jammu is also called as the city of the temples. The tropical area from Udhampur a busy town it proceeds to Jammu city or the Ramnagar and Poonch, Rajouri areas and then on the Pakistan side of the rest of Kashmir. About 18 Kilometers north of Jammu province beautiful places like Buderwa and Kishtwar. Buderwa is called as Little Kashmir. It has beautiful snow-covered mountains like Kailas, and also had beautiful lakes like Kund. However Kishtwar can also be reached from Kashmir direct through Kokarnag and Daksun across the Simthan road that is from southern Kashmir.[3]

However the present Jammu and Kashmir was founded in 1846. This territory is situated on the northern subcontinent of India and from 1846-1947 it remained as one of the largest princely States of India. It is obvious that from 1947 A.D. onwards it is a dispute between India and Pakistan. Hence leaving apart Jammu where there are mostly Dogras and Sikhs and Ladakh which is generally Buddhist, and in rest of the State majority are of the Muslims. The state occupies central position in the map of Asia and looks like crown to India since as its integral part.[4]

In the Jammu & Kashmir State, Kashmiri and Dogri are the main languages which are spoken besides other languages such as Urdu, Pahari, Punjabi, Dardi, Gujiri, Laddakhi and Hindi. The language of the Dogras who later on in the 19th Century become the rulers of Kashmir is Dogri.[5]

"The territory of the original State is divided by a "line of control" agreed on in 1972 between the Governments of India and Pakistan that leaves an area of 32,358

1. *Kashmir and Power Politics, The Heart of Asia*, op. cit., p. 4.
2. *Kashmir: Desolation or peace*., op. cit., p. 21
3. Ibid., pp. 22-23. I myself visited through this route of Simthan road to visit the Sufi shrines of Kishtwar and Rajouri for the purpose of my field work recently in 2011
4. *Social and Religious Conditions on the Eve of Spread of Islam in Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 1
5. *Visiting Kashmir*, op. cit., pp.17-18

square miles (83,806 square kilometers) in the north west to Pakistan and the remainder, amounting to 53,665 square miles (138,992 square kilometers) under Indian Control."[1]

The total area of the Valley of Kashmir is 15853 Square kilometers of which an area of more than 259 Square kilometers is under water.[2]

"The Ladakh Division of the State is largest geographical region / division so for as the density of the population is concerned as it possess only 4 persons per square kilometers in comparison to Kashmir and Jammu Divisions of the state with 284 and 182 persons per square kilometer respectively."[3]

1. *Social and Religious Conditions on the Eve of Spread of Islam in Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 2
2. Ibid., p. 4
3. *An Economic Study of Jammu and Kashmir State*, op. cit., pp. 9-10

CHAPTER- II

Origin and brief Early History of *Tasawwuf*

Tasawwuf is considered as esoteric part of human life. Sufis consider *Qur'an* as the base of their faith and beliefs. The mystic exegesis of the *Holy Qur'an* surely enables them to achieve high ranking from the ignoble and facile problems in which a class of *mullas* has entangled Islam. The *Qur'anic* exegesis presented by *tasawwuf* based on (*aqliyat*) human intellect as well as on humanism also having a magnimity in it. Its direction is towards the universe. Its tone is universal (*afaqi*). Probably this is the appropriate exegesis of the Holy *Qur'an*.[1]

Sufis claim that *tasawwuf* was present right from the very beginning of Islam. According to Titus Burckhardt, "*tasawwuf* is the *esoteric* or inward (*batin*) aspect of Islam and is based on *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW).[2] Therefore, Sufis had always tried to justify their practices on the basis of the *Holy Qur'an* and *Sunnah.* *Tasawwuf* is based on two things: that is, *mahabat-i-Alahi* (God's love) and *muyeet-i-zati* (God's company). The Holy book itself speaks about love of God. This is the only thing which in the terminology of *tasawwuf* is called *ma'rifat* (mystic knowledge).[3]

Sufis accept Prophet as the role model and follow his pious life as the best guide for them. Sufis believe, that Muhammad (SAW) was indeed a Sufi throughout his entire life, they take inspiration from the *Holy Quran* which commands the Prophet (SAW) to.

O thou folded in garments!

Stand (to prayer) by night, but not all night-

Half of it- or a little less,

Or a little more; and recite the Qur'an in slow, measured rhythmic tones.

Soon shall We send down to thee a weighty Message.

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1. K.. A. Nizami, *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht,*Vol. I, Delhi, 1980, p. 15
2. Titus Burckhardt, *An Introduction to Sufism,* Willingborough, 1990, p. 15
3. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht,,* Vol. I, op. cit., p. 50

Truly the rising by night is most potent for governing (the soul), and most suitable for (framing) the Word (of prayer and praise).
True, there is for thee by day prolonged occupation with ordinary duties:
But keep in remembrance the name of thy Lord, and devote thyself to Him whole heartedly.
(He is) Lord of the East and the West: there is no God but He: take him therefore for (thy) Disposer of Affairs.
And have patience with what they say: and have them with noble (dignity).
And leave me (alone to deal with) those in possession of the good things of life
Who (yet) deny the Truth; and bear them for a little while.[1]

However, the term *tasawwuf* penetrated in Islam lately as in the earlier stages, *zuhud* and *taqwa* was freely used for the various holy persons who had denounced the world. It was from the 2nd century *Hijra* that the word *tasawwuf* and Sufi became popular in masses.[2]

Hadith-i-Nabi, then he (Gabriel) further asked what is *Ihsan* (perfection) ? Allah's Apostle (SAW) replied "to worship Allah Subhan-hu-taala as if you see Him, and if you cannot achieve this state of devotion then you must consider that He is looking at you", narrated by Abu Huraira (RA).[3] Shah Walliullah Dehlavi in *Hajatul Balgah* while discussing on this particular *Hadith*, referring towards *ahsan,* says, "that this is the real concept of *tasawwuf*. During the period of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) the existence of *Ashab-i-Suffa* is the proof of this thing that the Prophet (SAW) did not consider bad absorption for a particular category."[4]

Shaikh Hujveri states that, "During the period (life time) of Prophet (SAW) itself, there were some such type of emigrant indigence who worshiped God under proper worship rules and manners they perform Prophet Mohammad's love obediently. And seated in the Prophet's Mosque i.e. in the *Masjid-i-Nabi* and they

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1. *Qur'an*, Part XXIX, *Surah -73: Al Muzzammil*, (English, Tr.), Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, First Edition 1998, Claymont DE 19703. Verse No.1-11, pp. 1647-48
2. Dr. Ghulam Rasool Jan, *Jami-al-Kamalat Hazrat Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi-Shaiksiat-o-fun.*, Srinagar, 1995, p. 170
3. *Kitabul Iman, Al-jam-i-ul-Sahi-Bukhari: Chapter, 38,* (English Tr.), Dr. Mohammad. Mohsin Khan, University of Medina Al Monouvira. The quotation of Gabriel about belief, Islam, Ihsan (perfection) and the Domes Day.
4. Shah Walliullah Dehlavi, (Arabic), (ed.), Mohd. Ahsan Natwan, *Hajatul Balgah*, Vol. 2, Braili, 1286 AH/ 1869, p.168

gave up all the quarrels and provocations. They were having a perfect faith in this order that God is the only providence. They trust in God for all this. It was the reason, as the Prophet (SAW) was commissioned for their company and stands firm with their right. As the God speaks rightly, “Do not keep away those people who exclaim their God from dawn till evening and desire for His pious existence”. And Allah says to Prophet, “That put your eyes i.e. keep watch over them by your view. And do not try to look up on them with hatred vision; if you want that your worldly life will be adorned. Therefore, wherever the Prophet (SAW), looked them, he rightly speaks, “my parents sacrifices up on you, that because of you people, God reprimanded up on me.”[1]

According to Sufis a number of *Qur’anic* verses support for their doctrines. The most often quoted is the *Sura* 24: 35*, “Allah is the light of Heaven and Earth! His light may be compared to a niche in which there is lamp; the lamp is in glass; the glass is just as if it were a glittering star kindled from a blessed olive tree, [which is] neither Eastern nor Western, and that the oil almost glow though the fire has never touched it. Light up on light, Allah guides any one He wishes to His light.[2] Another verse often chanted in Sufi gatherings, and which the Sufis claim sums up the whole of Sufism is Sura 2:156*, verily we are for Allah, and verily unto Him we are returning. In Arabic “*Inna li’lalahi wa-inna ilayhi raji‘un*.”[3] And third often used verse in Sura 50:6**, “We (Allah) are nearer to him (man) than his jugular vein.[4]

The Sufis believe that Muhammad (PBUH) has declared that every verse of *Qur’an* has an outside and inside a belief clearly in line with their quest for the *Haqiqa*.[5] However, this very method of *Qur’anic* interpretation believed and used by the Sufis in support of their claim can arguably be seen as a reliance on exegesis.[6] Explaining the mystic path of Islam, Hazrat Junade Baghdadi [R.H] proclaims the ways

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1. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*,op. cit., pp. 56-57
2. Andrew Ripen, *Muslims their Religious Beliefs and Practices* New York, 1990, p. 118. **Qur’an, Surah 24:Al Nur*, Text (Verse) No. 35
3. Martin Lings, *What is Sufism?* London, 1975, p. 28. * *Quran, Surah 2*: *Al Baqarah,* Text (verse) No. 156.
4. Ibid., p. 32. ** *Qur’an*, Surah 50 :*Qaf*, Text (verse) No. 6
5. *Haqiqa* refers to the ‘inner truth’ or ‘inner reality’ that Sufis believe at the heart of Islamic revelation, William Stoddert, *Sufism- the Mystical Doctrine and Methods of Islam,* New York 1986, p. 41
6. The practice of interpreting meaning in to a passage bears a striking resemblance to Sufi methods of *Qur’anic* interpretation. Orthodox Muslims opposed to Sufism argue that Sufi interpretations are indeed exegesis in other words the Sufis are ascribing an ‘inner’ meaning which the verses themselves do not contain.

and manners of their beliefs and practices in the following way: “this path can only be achieved by the one in whose right hand there will be the *Holy Quran* and in the left hand there will be *Sunnat-i-Mustafa,* and by the light of these two lamps he may easily cover the path. So that he neither can fell in the pit of suspicion nor be caught in the darkness of religious innovation. However, the *mashaikh* had always warned their followers and disciples that whenever you want to judge the spiritual greatness of anyone, then you have to keep into his life through the mirror of *Sunnah* and *Shriah”*.[1]

Shaikh Husain Noori [R.H] is of the opinion that, if you see a person is claiming to be close with Allah, as is nobody but the claim he holds is going out of *Shariat* (Islamic law), then restrain yourself the company of such a person. On the other hand, he further says, if you see a person claiming is on such a position (stage of high devotion) which is baseless, and his activities didn't reflect the *Shariat* then he must be blamed, of his faith.[2]

Second aspect of the real *tasawwuf* is the service to creatures (mankind). Love for Creator and service to His creatures (human beings) is the real *tasawwuf*. The *mashaikh* were of the firm belief that the Divine love and nearness can be achieved through the service of His creature. Again Junaid Baghdadi [R.H] says, “That I found *Haq* (God) in the streets of Medina.” He was asked how he found God there. He answered: “One day I was passing through the markets of Medina, I saw a few afflicted people whom embarrassed condition cannot be narrated. I got pity about them and wished to company them and adopt familiar with them. Since I lived (stayed) within their company and become sensible that God is with afflicted (miserable) people.[3]

Hazrat Shaikh Abu-al Hassan Khirqani (Noon) writes, *tasawwuf* is not the name of rituals and knowledge, but it is in real the name of ethics (manners).[4] Dr. S. Liyaqat H. Moini writing about the Islamic *tsasawwuf* mentions that from the Prophet of Islam the process continued through the various generations later on by the pious

1. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht,,* op. cit., p. 59.
2. Ibid., pp. 60-61.
3. Ibid., pp. 82-83.
4. Shaikh Ali Al-Hujveri, *Kash-ful Mehjub*, (Urdu Tr.), Hakim Zahir Ahmad, Lahore, A.H. 1343 / A.D. 1968, p. 41.

leaders (*immas*). He further states, "they all strictly followed, practiced and adhered to the early Islamic tendencies of *adab-o akhlaq* (moral ethics), *zikr* (litany and recollection), *zuhd* (piety), *tawwakul* (reliance on or trust in God), *raza* (submission to God), *sabr* (patience), and love for Him and for His Prophet and creatures (mankind). Thus the torch lighted by the Prophet of Islam still continues to shine brightly in the *khanqahs* and *dargahs* all over the world with the same glow and enthusiasm."[1]

He further says, "purest and virtuous ethics and manners is *tasawwuf*, and the one who holds the best, supreme, pious and holy tendencies, is the greatest Sufi." "There are two aspects of it, the one is connected to God and the other is related with his creatures. The first category is to be totally contended and surrender to His will, and the second is, for God's sake, to bear the burden of the company and activities of His creatures without complaint and yet be well disposed towards them." "The true saint or real Sufi is the one who faces the ill treatment of others with equanimity."[2]

D.B Mac Donald a modern scholar says that, "Muhammad was a Sufi when on his way to becoming a Prophet.[3] In another chapter of the *Holy Qur'an* Muhammad is reminded:

So wait patiently (O Muhammad) for the Lord's decree, for surely thou art in our sight; and hymn the praise of thy lord when thou upraises,

And in the night time also hymn His praise, and at the setting of the stars.[4]

The Prophet continued to lead an exceedingly austere and ascetic life. He considered his own pursuit of *faqr* that is a life of poverty and resignation to God's will, a source of personal pride.

In all the prominent world religions there was a mystical tendency and popularity, for-example, the idea of Dara Shikoh is right that mysticism has been referred in the *Upanishads*; which the Turks and Mongols view of *'Al-Tungri'*,

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1. Dr. S. Liyaqat H. Moini, *The Chishti Shrine of Ajmir; Pirs, Pilgrims, Practices*, Jaipur, 2004, Introductive p. xii
2. Ibid., Introductive pp. xii-xiii
3. D.B Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York, p. 227
4. *Qur'an*, Para No. 27, Surah No. 52: *Al Tur*, verses: 48-49, tr. by M. M. Pickthal, *The Meaning of Glorious Koran*, New York.

Chinese imagination according to Dara Shikoh *'Tiyan'* and of Islamic concept of *'Haq'* are basically the same.[1]

In the pre Islamic days there was a group of people in Arabia who were in the belief of *Tauheed* and were living a simple, pious and spiritualist life and were known as "*Haneef*"[2] whose ascetic and pious life resembled that of the Sufis. Waraqah is one of the cousins of Prophet Muhammad *Sufe-i-Khuda* and Zayd-ibn-Amar, belongs to that category. Some other pious persons of that category quietly slipped into Holy class worshipped God and does the cleansing of the Holy place and disappear quietly. They were called *Sufis-khadman-i-khaliq*. They always thus service at the holy place which basically was beneficial to the Sufis[3]

According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, that Sufis had always stressed up on excellence character, service to maintain as the standard of this excellence. From 7th Century A.D to 14th century the nature of Sufism remained as a revolutionary disciplined against despotic and tyrannical rule of the *Ummayad* and were known as *Qurebela*, yet they were caliphs. The Arab were oppressed and exploited so they wondered from city to city and preached the real spirit of Islam had nothing against the ruling elite. Shaikh Junaid[R.H] even proclaimed that this is the horrible period. After that, offered such a viewpoint, for which up to five hundred years the Sufis remained satisfied and agreed. According to this point of view, they neither opposed the ruling class nor agreed with them. So they were living in their separately world. In the conditions and communication of this period, it was to some extent not easy. In the 14th century A.D., the Sufis totally gave up this way of *mafahmat*, now they spend their time under the cool shadow of *Shahi* privilege concession. Now the life of a hunger and poverty become a tale (*dastan*) of the ancient (past) period.[4]

The chorology of the word had different opinion among the scholars and therefore up to 11th century A.D, literature on this topic has come out, Shaikh Ali

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1. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht,* op. cit., pp. 15-16
2. *Development of Muslim Theology; Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory,* op. cit., pp. 124-125
3. Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, *Kitab al-luma, Fi'l-tasawwuf,* (ed.), R. A. Nicholson, London, 1914, p. 11
4. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht,* op. cit., pp. 18-19. Thus there came a change in the life style of the Sufis, now they also come to meet the ruling elite, particularly in the mentioned period of the 14th Century.

Hujveri writes, "People have said many things about the ascertainment of this noun and had written many books."

Generally in the books of *tasawwuf* following is the discussion from the chronograph derivation.

Safa: The term means cleanliness and purity of heart

Ashab-e-Suffa or Ahal-i-Suffa: During the period of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) some saintly men stationed at Suff (platform) were always prayed within the *Masjid-i-Nabi*.

Saf: Those who always tried to pray in the *front line*.

Sufa: Name of an ancient tribe, a group of people who was the attendant of *Khan-i-Qabah*, performing prayers and services.

Sufut-i-al kafa: The hairs on the seat of the saints.

Seau Sophia: It is a Greek word which means *Hikhmat-i-Alahi*.

Sufana: a kind of plant.

Sof: meaning *pashmina* (costly woolen) or wool.[1]

Most of the scholars are of the opinion that, word Sufi is derived from the word *Sof*. Therefore, Shaikh Abu-ul-Nasir Siraj [R.H] (died 378 A.H / 988 A.D.) says:

"The Sufis by their visible appearance were called as Sufi. It was because the sheep woolen dress is the very important sign of Prophets, *companions* and saintly beings." Abn-i-Khaldun is also having the same view, he writes, "in my opinion the word Sufi is derived from the term *Soff* because these people do not wear superior type cloths and they were wearing simply woolen cloths." Prof. E. Brown further supported that word Sufi is derived from *Sof*, as in Iran Sufis were known as *Pashmina posh* (woolen garment wearer).

The Prophet of Islam is regarded as the true spiritual guide on the ascetic path and the later Sufis considered him to be an ideal model from all spiritual aspects. His main mystical teachings are the soul's repentance (*Tawaba*) or turning towards God, and the renunciation of the world.[2]

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1. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*,op. cit., pp. 40-41
2 "*Kitabbal-luma,Fi'l-tasawwuf,* op. cit., p. 11

After Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), different levels of the people were entitled with different tittles, the Prophets *Sahaba* (companions), then *Tab-i-yeen*, *Taba-ta-byeen*. The people who in early period devoted more towards piety and piousness, they were called *zuhad*, but when the few innovations started emerging, and many sects born out who claimed that they are real mystics (pious persons), therefore, *Ahal-i-Sunnah* distinguished them the name of *'Sufi'*, and before to the 2nd Century A.H., they got fame under this name. Maulana Jami [R.A] investigates that the earliest saint entitled as Sufi was Shaikh Abu-Hasham Kufi [RH] (died 150 A.H. / 767 A.D).[1]

During the rule of Ban-i-Umayya, changes took in the Islamic politics, finally *Khulafayay-i-Rashid-ud-din* was converted into despotic rule, under these circumstances the first generation of Sufis came into existence. After Hijaz, at Basra and Kuffa, with these circumstances the first class of Sufis also came into existence. Basra and Kuffa, where the Umayyad governors lashed out all kinds of abstruse becomes the first Sufi centers, and from where this Islamic movement of *Rusd-o-Hidayat* for the spread into other parts of the Arab world. Both of these cities were having few other distinctive features. The Arab colonies of Basra were in fact belonging to *Tameemi* tribe. These people by nature were realistic, and were having critical temperament (mood). There was a realistic attitude in their poetry. And, even in the *Ilem-i-Hadith* their critical skill and abilities have been landed by scholars. The common tendency of the temperaments (habits) was towards Rationalism and Naturalism. It was the result of these peculiarities of thinking and practicing that *tasawwuf* had got the chance of spreading and developing on this land. Among the famous Sufis of Basra are Imam Hassan Basri [R.H] (110 A.H / 728 A.D) Hazrat Malik Bin Dinar [R.H], Fazil-ar-Kashi,[R.H] Rabah Bin Umar-al-Kaisee,[R.A] Sall-al-Mari,[R.H] and Abdul Wahid Bin Zaid died 177 A.H/ 993 A.D were particularly very famous. However, the peculiarities of Arab colony of Kufa were different from that of Basra. The Arabs of Kufa were in fact Yeminis. Their temperament was full of narration (tradition), and in their poetry there was an influence of Platonism. By faith Shiite and customary in vogue grow powerfully. Among the famous Sufis of this period were: Rabi-bin Haisham (died 67 A.H / 686 A.D), Abu Israel (died 140 A.H / 757 A.D) Jabir Bin Hiayan, Mansur Bin Ammar, Abdek etc., are remarkable with similar

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1. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*, op. cit., pp. 42-43

peculiarities. The period of this first generation of Sufis states from 41 A.H. / 661 A.D to 236 A.H. / 850 A.D had been clarified. Besides the above mentioned Sufis of Kufa and Basra, there were other famous Sufis of this period viz, Hazrat Owes Karni, Hazrat Muhammad Wasai [R.H], Hazrat Habib Ajmi [R.H], Hazrat Khwaja Fazeel Bin Ayaz [RA] (died 187 AH/ 803 A.D), Hazrat Ibrahim Adham[R.H] of Balkh and Iran and others. As these saints were having excess fear *(kuf)* of God therefore gave much stress on repentance *(tauba).*[1] So for the woman *Sufia* of this period is concerned, one of the ascetic saints was Rabia Basri [RH], she has said, "that the oral repentance is the work of liars."[2] And talking about the dedication and devotion of God, once Rabia Basri was asked about her way of worship, she answered, "That the ablution cannot be rightly done until she can't wash her face with hot and warm handful of blood."[3] The Sufis of this period broke off all the connections with the government, and refused to join the government services, and the company of the ruling elite. They always tried to escape from the rulers and whenever it becomes unavoidable to refuse, then they with extremely courageous and bold in criticizing them over their immoral and non religious acts.[4]

The monarchs were never interested in spreading Islam because they never remained directly in touch with the public, thus, the work of preaching Islam was done by the preaching actions of these Sufi saints.[5] The class of Sufis who emerged under these circumstances was disgusted with this *"Aqliat"* and *"Waziaet"*. Hazrat Bayazid Bistami,[RA] Hazrat Zu-Nun-al-Misri [RH] who were among the famous *mashaikh* of this period, raised their voice against this *"Aqaliat"* class and emphasized on *Ishq* (love) and claimed that poisonous effects of *Aqaliat* and *"Waziat"* can only be removed by *Ishq* (love) of God (*Hubbullah*).

The third era of the *tasawwuf* history belonged to the 10th century A.D. It is necessary to look up on the history of *Islamic fiqha* for understanding the condition of the Sufis of this period. When the circle of Islamic conquests enlarged and new countries came under the subjugation of Muslims, then there the need of *"Ijtihad"*

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1. Ibid., p. 102.
2. Shaikh Farid-ud-Din Attar, *Tazkira-tul-Auliya,* (Urdu tr.), Moulana Zabaur Afzal Usmani, Delhi, 1990, P. 49
3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *Maqam-e-Dawat,* Lahore, 1945, p. 27.
4. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht,* op. cit., p. 104.
5. Ibid., p. 107.

(Islamic law) and *"Istanbad"* (deduction) arose. More problems emerged about whom there was no oblivious order in the *Holy Qur'an* and *Hadith-i-Nabi* (SAW). Since it became the demand of the circumstances then under the light of *Qur'an* and *Hadith,* the problems were solved with the compilation of *fiqa* by Jurists who too were having Sufi characteristics.[1]

The famous Sufis of the 10th century A.D were Shaikh Abu Sayeed Abul Khair[R.A] (died 341 A.H / 952 A.D), Shaikh Abu Muhammad Al-haldi [R.A] (died 348 A.H / 959 A.D), Shaikh Abu-al Nasser Saraj [R.A] (died 378 A.H / 988 A.D), Shaikh Abu Talib Macci (died 386 A.H / 996 A.D*),* Shaikh Abubakar [R.H] (died 390 A.H / 1000 A.D), Abu Abdur Rahman Al-Sulmi (died 421 A.H / 1021) are mostly remarkable. These saints with the help of their *tongue and pen* tried to awoke the real religious spirit and much stress has been given for the inside (hidden) reformation. For the removal of the excusers (who has polluted the inside life) it had become necessary that the real moral education has been given to the people.[2]

One of the importances of the history of *tasawwuf* of the 10th century A.D is that, during this period the gatherings, circles and groups of Sufis had started coming up. Shaikh Ali Hujveri entitled Data Ganj Baksh[R.A] in his frame work *Kash-ful-Mehjub,* he mentions about 12 groups out of which 2 groups are reprobated and the 10 groups are popular."[3]

"The first caliph Abu Baker (632-34) was a paragon of voluntary poverty to the Sufis and taught them to renounce all their material goods for Islam."[4] "The fourth caliph Ali (656-61) was regarded by the Sufis as their Shaikh (leader or teacher) in both the theory and practice of Sufism. The former consisted principles and the latter rested entirely on endurance of affliction, Ali was a model for Sufis 'in respect to the truths of outward expressions and the subtleties of inward meanings, the stripping of one's self of all poverty either of this world or of the next and consideration."[5]

1. Ibid., p. 116.
2. Ibid., p. 119
3. *Kash-ful Mehjub,* (Urdu tr.), op. cit., p. 139
4. Al-Hujveri, *The Kash-ful-Mehjub,* (English tr.), R. A. Nicholson. London, 1936, pp. 70-71
5. Ibid., p. 74

“Medina and Mecca remained the two Holy places of Islam. Immigrants from other parts of the Islamic world also increased their importance. However, in the first century of Islamic calendar many new centers of Islamic Culture came into existence. Two such places were Basra and Kufa. Basra’s pride was Hasan Al-Basri (642-728) born in Medina into the *Tabi‘un* class, after the battle of Siffin, he settled in Basra.”[1] Hasan’s letter to caliph Abdul Malik indicates that he was a Qadiriyyah preaching asceticism in his sermons, he succinctly expressed his ideas in this way: Make this world into bridge over which you cross but on which you do not build! And republish these hearts (the seats of religious feeling) for they, very quickly grow rusty.”[2] “Like Basra, Kufa was originally an Arab military cantonment in Iraq which had been founded immediately after the conquest of Mesopotamia. This was at the same time Basra was being constructed that is about 17/ 638. In Kufa there lived Abu Hashim, the first spiritualist to be known as a Sufi.’’[3]

“Mecca, Medina, Basra and Kuffa were undoubtedly the earliest centers of Islam’s contemplative and ascetic life. This does not mean that Sufism developed in isolation and other mystic ideas and ascetic practices had no impact at all. The deep Christian influence in the early development of Sufism is undeniable; Jesus was a model of self denial and of the saintly life. The Sufis tended to see Jesus in the light of their own traditions does not lessen the significance of the impact of the Nestorian and Jacobite Churches on the movement.” “The second two important regions where Sufism blossomed were Iran and Khurasan. These countries had been conquered in the first Century after the birth of Islam and a large number of their inhabitants embraced the new religion for varying reasons. However the difficulties of communication failed to place remote regions of Iran and Khurasan in the orbit of either of the distant rival Islamic capitals of the *Umayyads* in Damascus or the *Abbasids* in Baghdad. Azerbaijan, Gilan, Tabaristan and Gorgan remained centers for a number of new religio-political movements as did Khurasan a land of indefinite boundaries.’’[4]

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1. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* Vol. I, New Delhi, 1978, p. 27
2. Ibid., p. 27
3. Ibid., p. 31.
4. Ibid., p. 32.

"The earliest known Sufi of Balkh was Ibrahim bin Adham. According to Sufi legends, he was a prince who renounced his throne to lead the life of an ascetic.''[1] "Of all the Khurasan Sufis, the most well known is Abu Yazid Tayfur Bin 'Isa ibn Surushan of Bastam, better known as Bayazid. Junaid of Bagdad believed that Abu Yazid ranked greatest among the Sufis as did Gabriel amongst the angels."[2]

"Syria was notable not only for its Prophets but also for its saints. Abu Suleiman Abdur Rahman bin Atiyya al-Durani, a Sufi who remained for some time in Basra, later retired to Daraya, near Damascus, where he died in 215 AH / 830 A.D. To him both hope and fear were indispensable to one who sought God. Nothing either in this world or the next was of sufficient importance to keep man from his God. Bagdad, the *Abbassid* capital in Iraq situated on the Khurasan road, was a junction of caravan routes. Their foundations of Sufism were laid amidst hectic orthodox, intellectual and sectarian developments. From the ninth Century onwards translations of Greek, old Persian and Sanskrit literature were accompanied by those of Syria (ancient Syrian or western Aramaic) works by Christian mystics into Arabic, of these the most notable was the translation of *Nineveh* in the seventh century. It was an Irani, however, who founded the Baghdad school of Islamic mystics. He was Abu Mahfuz Ma'ruf Ibn Firuz al-Karkhi. Although Ma'ruf was born of Christian parents, he reportedly embraced Islam through the influence of the eight Shi 'I Imam 'Ali al-Riza."[3]

According to Junaid that, "when God creates a human being, His intention is to make him again fully One with Himself." "This explains Junaids definition of Sufism which draws attention to the fact that: '*tasawwuf*' is that God should make you die from yourself, and should make you live in Him."[4]

"During the first two centuries of Islam, Sufi discipleship had become better organized. Followers gathered around al-Hakim in Tirmiz, Abul Abbas Sayyar in Marw, Qassar in Nishapur, Bayazid in Bastam, Khafif in Shiraz, Mahasibi, Junaid and Noori in Baghdad."[5]

1. Ibid., p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 43.
3. Ibid., pp. 48-49
4. Ibid., p. 55
5. *Kashful Mahjoob*,(tr.), Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 176-77

The Shaikh Abu Sa‘id believed God’s men were not confined to Mosques alone they were in taverns, too. He described it in this way: “The true saint goes in and out amongst the people and eats and sleeps with them and buys and sells in the market and marries and takes part in social intercourse and never forgets God for a single movement.”[1]

During the 12th century A.D. there become different more silsilas and through these orders the Sufism got much stronger basis and respect and was identified by their spiritual hierarchical orders. All the founders of these silsilas claimed their link to the Prophet shortly through Hazrat Ali and few through Hazrat Abu Baker. But their sole purpose was to worship and remember (*zikr*) in the light of *Qur’an* or *Hadith* and some of these orders are showed in many of the Sufi sayings (*malfuzat*) were in accordance with the *Hadith* of the Prophet (SAW). In the various countries like Baghdad, Iran, Khurasan, Transoxina and Central Asia where they established the most popular *khanqahs*. In Bagdad the founders of these silsilas were mostly the Iranis but later were influenced by the earlier Baghdad school of mysticism. They produced the new frame work for establishment of these chains. However, the earliest order established which got fame was the Chishti order founded by Hazrat Abu Ishaq Chishti (at Chisht) near Herat in modern Afghanistan flourished there by great Shaikh was finally brought to India.

Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani the founder of the Qadiriyyah silsila was born in 470/1077-78 in the village of Jilan south of the Caspian Sea, and was eighteen years old when he migrated from Iran to Baghdad and studied religion, science and became interested in Sufism.[2]

Another important order emerged at Baghdad was Suharwardiyyah. Shaikh Shihabu-Din Abu Hafiz al Suharwardi was the founder of this Suharwardi order. However, this silsila spread throughout many countries of the Islamic world and also became one of the important orders of early Sufism in India.[3] By the 12th century, *khanqah* life was at its highest peak and in it there was key contribution of the

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1. *A History of Sufism in India*, op. cit., p. 73
2. Ibid., pp. 83- 84.
3. Ibid., p. 87.

Suharwardiyyah silsila.[1] "The fame of Shaikh Shihabud-Din was matched only by that Abul Jannab Ahmad bin, Umar Al-Khiwaqi better known as Najmud-Din Kubra. A galaxy of Sufis surrounded him as disciples and a number of branches of his order, the Kubrawiyyah, spread to Baghdad, Khurasan and India. The two Indian branches were the Firdawsiyyah and the Hamdaniyyah, the Baghdadi branch was the Nuriyyah and the Khurasani branches were the Rukniyyah, the Ightishaiyyah and the Nurbakshiyyah Shaikh Abu'l-Jannab Ahmad has aptly been called 'the career of saints (*Shaikh-i-wali Tarash*)."[2]

"The silsila system guaranteed the transmission of mystical knowledge acquired by founders of the order to further generations of Sufis through their successors or *khalifas*. The 'ulama' accused the Sufis of deifying their spiritual teachers (Shaikhs, *pirs*, or *murshids*) but the Sufis saw their Shaikhs as being illuminated by the light of Muhammad which had existed even before his birth and was the sole cause of creation"[3]

As mentioned earlier that the word Sufi has different origin according to various Sufi Saints, and Muslim scholars. One group claims its origin from "Ahl-e-Suffa" (of the bench who lived in the Prophet's Mosque) while other relate the term Sufi within context of Arabic word Safa (purity). Many equate it with the meaning of a "saff" i.e., row, Sufis therefore offering prayers standing in the first "saff" (row). Few are of the opinion that the people, who used to wear woolen cloth (*kherqa*) as a symbol of simplicity, are called Sufis. However, Dr. Muhammad Ismail incorrectly states that, "Woolen garment has nothing to do with the inner spirit of *Tasawwuf.*" He further elaborates it as the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) himself and his early Muslims mostly used the simple dress even on the festive occasions. "Sufi" is a name which is given, and has formerly been given, to the perfect pious saints and spiritual adepts. One of the Shaikh says: *Man Saffahu'l-hubb fa huwa Saf-in wa man saffah'l habib fa huwa sufiyyun.* He who is purified by love is pure, and he who is absorbed in the Beloved and has abandoned all else is a 'Sufi"'. He further differentiates the two terms 'Sufi' and '*Wali'* which are mostly used for the same meaning. Literally '*Wali'*

1. Ibid., p. 91.
2. Ibid., p. 93.
3. Ibid., p. 98.

means near and *Wilayiat*, indicates to nearness. Its indication hints as *Wali Aullah* “nearness to Allah”.[1]

Dr. Ismail quotes some definitions on “Sufi Thought” (*Tasawwuf*) of different prominent Sufis. Dhu’l-Nun Misri, says: “The Sufi is he whose language, when speaks, is the reality of his state i.e. he says nothing which he is not, when he is silent his conduct explains his state and his state proclaims that he has cut all worldly ties” i.e. all that he says is based on a sound principle and all that he does is pure detachment from the world (*tajrid*); when he speaks his speech is entirely the truth and when he is silent, his action are wholly ‘poverty’ (*faqr*). Rabia Basriyah, says, “The best thing that leads man on to God is that he must not care for anything of this world or of the next other than God”. “Everything bears fruit, and the fruit of knowledge is absorption in Allah”. Junaid Baghdadi says, “*Tasawwuf* means thorough dependence on Allah for life, death and everything else”. Maruf al Karkhi says, “Three signs distinguish the Sufi saints (a) their thought is with Allah. (b) their dwelling is with Allah and (c) their business is in Allah. Bayazid based his theory of *Pantheism* on the verses of the *Qur’an* such as, “To Him belongs command and to Him you will return”[2] “everything will get back to Allah and unto Him we return,”[3] Abul Hassan Nuri says, “*Tasawwuf* is the renunciation of all selfish pleasures.” Ali Al-Hujveri explains it, “This renunciation is of two kinds: formal and essential. For example, if one renounces a pleasure and finds pleasure in the renunciation, this is formal renunciation; but if the pleasure renounces him, the pleasure is annihilated and this case falls under the head of true contemplation (*musha-hadat*), therefore renunciation of pleasure is the act of man, but annihilation pleasure is the act of God. The act of man is formal and metaphorical, while the act of Got is real”.[4]

Dr. Ismail further says that, “*Tasawwuf* is essentially an Islamic origin. The *Qur’an* asserts in many places that from the Deity everything has originated and to the Deity everything will ultimately return. He only is eternal, the entire rest is transient, e.g., “everything is perishable except His essence. To Him belongs command and to

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1. Dr. Muhammad Ismail, *Sufi Movement and Sufi literature in India in the Seventeenth Century*, Aligarh, 2008, p. 18
2. *Qur’an*, Surah 28 *Al-Qasas:* verse No. 88
3. Ibid., Surah 11 *Hud:* verse No.55
4. *Sufi Movement and Sufi literature in India in the Seventeenth Century*, op. cit., p. 19

Him you will return”. And the poverty of Muhammad (PBUH), whom Allah sent the key of all the treasures, that are upon the face of the earth saying, Lay no trouble on thyself, but procure every luxury by means of these treasures, and he answered: ‘O, Lord, I desire them not”. Keep me one day full fed and one day hungry “, these are very excellent principles of Sufi conduct. The four orthodox caliphs of Islam were also extremely devoted to Allah.”

Thus keeping in mind the different definitions of Sufi thought (*Tasawwuf*), we come to the conclusion that whether the term is derived from *“Ahl-e-Suffa”*, “Safa” (purity) or from “Saff” in all kinds it is obvious that it has its origin from Islam and a true Sufi is that who leads his / her life according to the rules and regulations mentioned in the Holy *Qur’an* and keeping in mind the *Sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In this way he can attain much further nearness and pleasure of Allah. Only the renunciation of the world is not an identification of a Muslim Sufi saint. And this philosophy is not visible in any of the revealed books of God; rather it is the self created philosophy by the non-muslim saints.[1]

After the end of pious *khilafat*, as a result monarch took place there were disturbances and civil wars among the Muslims. With the result a section of *Ummah* was referred to rotate their lives from political convince and live the path of piety, piousness, tolerance and were labeled as quietly the first school of Sufis. One of the pious Muslims isolated themselves from the political confusion and they continued worship with fully dedication and devotion, they indulged themselves in religious duties. These spiritual Muslims by all aspects were Sufis, whether they called by the name or not. Notable were Imam Hasan al-Basri (d.110 A.H. / 728 C.E.) having good command and knowledge about Islamic theology, and he acquired this knowledge from *Ahl-i-Bait* the members of the Prophets own clan. The founder of the *Rationalistic School of Thought*, Wasil-bin-Ata was his student. An Arab of Kufa Abu Hashim (d. 162 A.H. / 777-78 C.E) settled in Syria, according to Jami was first *Zuhad* (pious person) who was given the title of Sufi. Another great mystic of repute was Abu Ishaq Ibrahim bin Adham who gave up throne of Balkh for the attainment of spiritual aspect. He breathed his last in 161 A.H. / 777 C.E.). Other of the important Sufis was Maruf Kharkhi (d. 200 A.H / 815 C.E.), who give up the world and

1. Ibid., p. 20

indulged himself in God’s worship with full dedication and devotion towards Allah. Thawban bin Ibrahim Dhul Nun Misri (d. 245 A.H. / 859-60), followed the Maruf Kharkhi. But Thawban bin Ibrahim Dhul Nunm Misri got such reputation among the Muslims that he was considered as a pillar of Islamic Sufi thought by the Muslims. Besides a good scholar, he was also a philosopher. Bayazid (Abu-Yazid) of Bistam was a contemporary Sufi to Nun Misri, “he introduced the doctrine of self effacement and self-annihilation.” Dr. Muhammad Ismail is of the view that, “in the beginning of Islamic history, the Holy Prophet was the spring head of all religious knowledge. But in course of time various religious sections i.e., *Fiqh, Hadith, Tafsir,* developed and took an independent shape. In the same way ‘Sufi thought’ or ‘*Tasawwuf*’ or the Sufi way of life which took an independent shape after the Holy Prophet in course of time as an independent science within the framework of *Shariah*.”[1]

Junaid of Baghdad (d. 297 A.H. / 909 C.E.), considering both the aspects i.e., the external path (*Shariat*) and internal path (*Haqiqat*) of Islam taking as the two sides of the same coin and that they , for from being antagonistic, corroborate each other. About Junayed it is said that he systematized the Sufi doctrines and clearly justified it. Imam Al-Ghazali stressed on the popularity of “*Tasawwuf*” by discussing and explaining it within the eternal laws of the religion (*Shariat*).

It is wrong as Dr. Ismail claims that, “The decline of ‘*tasawwuf*’ began when the two halves (external and internal) of Islam were separated. This decay was complete when Sufi saints began to constitute themselves into a separate body, with its branches spread all over the world. This body in course of time split into a large number of schools, each having its own monastery and code of laws. The four principal schools of ‘Sufi thought’, named after their leaders, are: (1) Qadiriyyah (after Abdul Qadir Jilani, d. 552 A.H./1166 C.E.), (2) Suhrawardiyyah (After Shihab-u’d-Din Suhrawardi d.632 AH/ 1234-1235 AD.), (3) Chishtiyyah (after Abu Ishaq Shami and Khwaja Mou’in ud-Din Chishti, d.663 A.H./ 1236 C.E.), (4) Naqshbandiyyah (after Baha-ud-Din Naqshband d.791 A.H./ 1388-1389 AD) and so on**.”** [2]

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1. Ibid., pp. 20-21
2 Ibid., p. 22

In fact the organization of the Sufi orders and introduction of *shijra* system had strengthened the Sufi thought, practices, rituals and mission. It provided a platform for the expansion and spread of Islam not only in Arab world but in Iran, Central Asia, and Africa and in Indian sub continent which is quite visible till date.

CHAPTER- III

Early penetration of Sufis in Jammu & Kashmir up to the 16th Century A.D.

The Muslims entered India in three different stages. In the first and early stage they came to India through southern sea coasts during the life time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) with the purpose of trade and also as Muslim missionaries. Secondly their penetration to India is through *Umayyad* conquests and reached up to the Rohne, the Syr Darya and the Indus and, finally they entered India as Central Asian Turks.

Actually, it is believed that the Muslims who entered earlier between 7th - 9th century A.D., on the southern coromound or coast of India were permitted by the Hindu Raja to propagate Islam and even Raja Cheraman Proumal converted to Islam which indicates great tolerance exhibition by the Hindu Rajas. These foreign Muslims even made matrimonial alliances with the local women in southern sea coast of India. The various communities of these Muslims like Labbes, the Maphillas (Moplahs) and Nawaits were inhabited in this region. The offspring's of these communities even today are surviving in south India.[1]

The Sufis penetration into the Indian soil took place even before the Muslim conquests of India and the Muslim traders have already paved way for these saints. These Sufis initially propagated the real picture of Islam individually, and through their well organized different Sufis-tic orders, and in this way the credit of conversion to a large number of Non-Muslims into Islam in India goes to these Sufi saints.[2]

"Moplahs of the south coast were converted to Islam by the disciples of Malik b. Dinar (d.744), Dudwalas and Pinjaras of Gujarat by al Hallaj (d.921), Labbes of Trichinopoly by Nithar Shah (d.1039), Memons of Cutch by Yusuf al din Sindi, the Daudpotas of Sind and Baluchistan by the Qaramite missionaries of Sind, the Bohras of Gujarat by Ismaili missionaries like Nur Satgar. The tomb of Imam Nasir-ud-din at

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1. *Sufi Movement and Sufi literature in India in the Seventeenth Century*, op. cit., pp. 22-23. As the early history of Sufi Movement in India is concerned, with the advent of Islam in Arabia, and from there it spread to the other parts of the world. Thus India such a large country too could not remained away from the arrival of these missionaries. So the Muslims already reached India for various reasons and purposes like trade etc.
2. Ibid., p. 23.

Jullundur bears the year of his death as 945 C.E. Similarly a tomb of another Sufi named at Khadar reported to be existed in Dacca. Al-Khadar died in 951 C.E., In 975 C.E. Abu Ishaq of Gazrun appointed Saifuddin Gazruni (962-1007), a young boy of seventeenth years as his *khalifa* and asked him to go to India for the spread of his own creed. He came to Ismaili Kingdom of Multan and settled at Uch. He remained there till his death in 1007 C.E.[1]"

As mentioned above many other Sufis also entered in India. Like Sayyid Ismail of Bukhara. It was he, who reached Lahore ruled by Hindu raja in about 1005 C.E. Traditionally it is claimed that in the second half of the eleventh century another important Sufi, Shah Sultan Rumi and his religious teacher (guide) Sayyid Shah Surkh Khul Antiah settled at Bengal in the year 445 A.H/ 1053 C.E. Dr. Muhammad Ismail had found on the basis of old Persian document that in 1082 A.H/ 1671 C.E. that the name Shah Rumi is mentioned in the document. He further claims that, "It is also known from the same document that the Koch king of the locality of Madanpur in Netrakona sub-division of Mymensing district (now in Bangladesh) tried to poison the Sufi saint. This Sufi saint with his wonderful miraculous power baffled the aim of the Raja, who afterwards was obliged to accept Islam and dedicated the whole village to the revered memory of the Sufi saint and his future spiritual successors." Before him his *pir* Shaikh Ali Hujveri on the orders of his *pir* came to Lahore. Shaikh Ali Al-Hujveri generally known as Data Gunj Baksh Lahori, who travelled to many Muslim countries, and finally reached to India, settled at Lahore and here in 465 A.H. / 1072, he passed away from this world. He wrote the first authentic Persian book on *Tasawwuf*. Hujveri also converted Raja Raju a Hindu General of the Ghznawids to Islam. In Multan, there was another Sufi Yusuf Gardezi who preached his Sufi mission at Multan and he died there in 1152 C.E. Many other Sufis who settled in India were Mir Husain Zanjari, Ahmad Tokhta Lahori (d. 1205 C.E.), Yaqub Sadar Divan Lahori (d. 1208 C.E.) and Aizu'd-Din Makki Lahori (d. 1215 C.E.). Ahmad Tokhta reached Lahore from Tirmiz, passing through Kech and Makaran and he passed away from this world in Lahore in 1205 C.E. Sayyid Ahmad Aliyas Lakhi Dat was also known as Sakhi Sarwar of Multan, who preached at Sadhra and Dhokan in the west Punjab. And he passed away from this world at Shahkot (Multan) in 1181 C.E. Another Sufi saint

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1. Ibid., pp. 32-34.

named Baba Adam Shahid settled at Bengal during the reign of Raja Balla Sena with whom in a battle he fought for the cause of Islam, Baba Adam Shahid got martyr-dom in 1119 C.E., and was buried in a village Abdullah Pur at Bikram Pur Dacca.[1]

In the 7th century A.H / 1300-1301 A.D., in Iran and in its adjoining areas there started Sufism, flourished as a reaction against the hypocritical condition of Islam. Sufism got a shape of a movement. Sufism was not something different from the Islamic beliefs and faith. The aim of this movement was to offer the religion before people in the form of its real spirit. The Sufis always tried to impress the people by their practices. With its beginning many silsilas (orders) started emerging. Among these the four are very renowned ones, like Chishtiyyah, Qadiriyyah, Naqashbandiyyah and Suhrawardiyyah. As the Chishtiyyah order was founded by Khwaja Muinud-Din Chishti, Qadiriyyah order by Hazrat *Pir* Dastgir Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani[Rh], Naqashbandi order by Bahaud-Din Naqashband and the Suhrawardi silsila was founded by Hazrat Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi. Besides these orders there are other silsilas or orders like Qubravi order, Silsila-i-Malwia and Silsila-i-Owassia etc. When the Sayyids penetrated in Kashmir, they brought along with them some Sufi orders also.[2]

These early saints actually mixed with the common people. It was due to the utmost efforts of the Muslim saints whose pious preachings and propagation got spreaded Islam swiftly in India. [3] "From the days of the 13th Century C.E. Sufis started organizing themselves into various orders like Chistiyyah, Suhrawardiyyah, Qadiriyyah and Naqsh-bandiyah etc."[4]

But the credit for the spread of *Tasawwuf* in Indian sub continent (South Asia) goes to Khwaja Moinu-ud-Din of Chishti order. The Chishti order first established at Chisht 100 miles from Herat on Hari Rud River, by Khwaja Ishaq Shami around 880, thus became the oldest Sufi order. Four successive spiritual successors worked broadly at Chisht and around that area of Khurasan (Afghanistan). The gaint Chishti saint had good balanced relations with the prominent Sufis of that time. Such as Shaikh Abu

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1. Ibid., p. 24.
2. Sofi Mohi-ud-Din, *Kashmir Ki Sakhawat Ke Badalte Nukoosh*, Srinagar, 2007, p. 37.
3. *Sufi Movement and Sufi literature in India in the Seventeenth Century*, op. cit., p. 25.
4. Ibid.

Ishaq from Herat, Shaikh Ahmad of Jam from Kabul etc.[1] Thus before assessing situation of Sufism, since one should have to take notice of Iranian Sufism.

So for Islam and Muslims are concerned, it is clear that Muslims were already reached there in Kashmir before the arrival of first known Sufi saint Hazrat Sayyid Sharf-ud-Din Abdur-Rahman (Bulbul Shah) to Kashmir. Thus the ground for the propagation of Islam was already clear but due to some unfavourable circumstances, the history could not record the names and services of those saints.[2]

No doubt before the advent of Islam in the picturesque Valley of Kashmir, there were some noble men also. From the ancient period, among the Hindus and Buddhists, there were few worshipers and ascetics who were remaining hunger and made themselves such type of Rishis by torching their physique. And they continued such miserable practices, which was the standard of their unique worship. Though in some practices they used their rituals, but in fact, there was not a little bit connection of *Tasawwuf* to their practices. Because beyond their worship, there was no any clear-cut or a particular reason (aim), neither there would be any order of Hazrat-i-Allah of such practices. But they according to their habits and rituals had some minor worldly desires and little purposes. But after the penetration of Islam in Kashmir it changed these ritual worship practices into a new turn of reality that is Sufism.[3]

However, on the land of Kashmir such a number of *Auliya-i-Allaha* has been born, no other country almost yet had been produced. Though the fact is, that the history of *Tasawwuf* in Kashmir starts with the history of advent of Islam in Kashmir, and before it there is no evidence of *Tasawwuf* in Kashmir.[4]

As the spread of Islam in Kashmir is concerned, due to its peculiar geographical location, Islam as a dynamic political force made its appearance here somewhere in the 14th century A.D when Shamus-ud-Din Shah Mir took the reign of government in his own hands after Kota Rani killed herself at Anderkot the old Jaypidpore.[5]

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1. *A History of Sufism in India, Early Sufism and its History in India to 1600 AD,* Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 114-16
2. Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Farooq Bukhari, *Kashmir me Islam-Manzar aur Pas Manzar,* Srinagar, 1998, p. 51
3. Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan Vol. III,* (Urdu tr.) Pir Zada Abdul Haq Tahyri, *Tazkiriy-i- Auliya-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, Srinagar, 2003, p. 1
4. Ibid., p. 5
5. Vijy Saqi, *Saq's Kashmir,* Delhi, 2000, pp. 21-22

The credit of spreading of Islam in Kashmir goes to the Sufis. The earliest known Sufi in Kashmir was the Turkistani Suharawardi Hazrath Sayyid Sharfuddin Abdur-Rahman, more commonly known as Bulbul Shah had travelled extensively in the west and Central Asia before finally arriving in Kashmir in 1295 C.E in the reign of the last Hindu king of Kashmir, Raja Suha Dev.[1] It is called about Bulbul Shah that he was the *murid* of Shah Niamatullah Farsi[RH]. Being a descendant of Hazrat-Musa Kazim[RH], he is called as Moosvi. He belonged to the Suhrawardi silsila, that is why, he was also known as Suhrawardi. He made his mission according to this verse of the *Holy Qur'an*, "*Seru fil-Arz*" to visit on earth.[2] He came via the north western boundaries of the Kashmir valley.[3]

He stayed in Kashmir for a short period and returned to Central Asia, but later on came to back in 1320 C.E in the reign of Buddhist ruler Rinchin Shah who after his conversion in to Islam played a central role. Bulbul Shah was the only noble man to whom Rinchana who till that time was the follower of Buddh Religion saw him in the Morning Prayer and through him (Bulbul Shah), he got converted to Islam.[4] Hazrat Bulbul Shah made some 10,000 conversions to Islam. Hazrat Bulbul Shah lightened that lamp of light in Kashmir under whose light each and every individual of the society benefited irrespective of caste, colour, high and low, religion and communalism living apart the caste system for similarity and right of equality. Even one considers this new faith comfortable for him / herself. Rinchan Shah also known by the name of Sad-ur-ud-Din by the orders of his *pir* Bulbul Shah, he constructed a *khanqah* on the banks of river Jhelum which was the earliest Islamic *khanqah* of Kashmir. In one side of the *khanqah* there was a Jama Masjid and a *langer khana*. Bulbul Shah used to offer prayers in this mosque and there in the *langer khana* the necessary facilities of meals were provided to the students, Sufis, *darwishes, fuqrah,* travelers and the needy and poor people.[5] For the expenses of the kitchen and the other other expenditure few villages were endowed.[6]

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1. Mohd. Ahmad Andrabi, *Auyliya-i- Kashmir,* part I, (ed.), Mohammad Yusuf Taing, Srinagar, 1998, p. 9
2. *Kashmir me Islam-Manzar aur Pas Manzar*, op. cit., p. 51
3. *Auyliya-i- Kashmir*, part I, op. cit., p. 9.
4. Pir Zada Abdul Haq Tahyri, *Mohsin-i-Kashmir,* Srinagar, 2008, p. 49
5. Ibid., p. 37
6. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 54

This work of conversion and propagation of Islam was further carried out by the Sufis who came from different countries like Persia and Central Asia. No doubt, at the very beginning they faced some difficulties to preach Islam due to certain conditions prevailing there. But the general masses were unhappy with the tyrannical rule of their Hindu rulers. And the Brahmans also exploited the common people. "While the king, the courtiers, the royal officers and the Brahmans lived on the fate of the land and in an atmosphere of immorality, the lot of the masses was extremely miserable, and they were engulfed in depths of despair. Any change that had the prospect of emancipating them from the shackles of out-dated social customs and political set-up was, therefore, sure to be welcomed. And Islam, with its searchlight on the Unity of God, equality between man and man, and man and woman, and rejection of idolatry held such hopes to them."[1]

Peer Giyaz ud-din in *'Kashmir, Islam, ideology and Society'* had discussed about the Socio-economic and political image of Kashmir on the eve of Islam, was miserable. Heavy taxation, anarchy type of ruling was a common depression of the people. Sombha Dew was a tyrant and incapable ruler. Shah Mirza of Swat (Shamus-din Shah) becomes a king. He was a capable ruler. The new ruler also took some important steps to control heavy taxes and he fixed the leave as 1/6th of the produce. There was his liberal attitude in case of Socio-economic and political scenario. It was the deep attraction of people towards the new faith.[2]

Hence the Bulbul Shah was died in 1326 A.D and is buried at Bulbul Lankar in Srinagar.[3] It was the rule of the Shah Mir dynasty, particularly during its early period, very prominent Sufis came to Kashmir for the propagation of Islam.[4]

The next remarkable Sufi to preach Islam in Kashmir was an Iranian Kubravi Hazrat Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani (b. 1313/ 14 A.D.) who is credited with having numerous converts in the area. Mir Sayyid Ali is considered as the real founder of Islam in Kashmir. He was born on 12 *Rajab* 714 A.H. / 12 October 1314 A.D. in the house of Sayyid Shihabu-ud-Din in Hamadan which is situated in the western Iran. He was belonging to the ruling class. Besides it, his mother Sayyid Fatima's genealogical

1. *Kingdom of Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 48
2. Balraj Puri, (ed.), *5000 Years of Kashmir,* Delhi, 1997, p. 78
3. *Kingdom of Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 487
4. Ibid., p. 490

link resembles to the 17th generation of Hazrat Sayyid Imam-i-Hasan.[1] Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani is also known by the name of Shah Hamadan in Kashmir.[2] When Mir Sayyid Ali came to Kashmir in 1381 A.D Sultan Qutab-ud-din greeted him with highly regard and faith. Sultan Sikandar was so much influenced by him and he banned many evil practices which were prevailing in the society. Various evils like intoxicating drugs and also banned the Sati system. Mir Sayyid brought with him a huge treasure of books. He founded one library in Khatlan and the second in Kashmir. These books were taught in various *madrasa's* and in different courses and in this way Persian language got much fame in the valley of Kashmir.[3]

Shah Hamadan raised his voice against tyranny in Kashmir. The Kashmiris in the 14th century, who were fallen in caste system, not only changed them but also provided them a strong social, economic and spiritual base through which they were identified in the other nations by their civilization. He used Sufism for the human development. He is of the opinion that to work and to live like brothers and worship together is better.[4] Islam came to Kashmir not by force but by peaceful stage to stage preaching's.

It was a turning point in the history of Kashmir when Sufism entered Kashmir. It was the decline of the Hindu rule and was about foundation of the Muslim rule in Kashmir (720 / 1320), but it was at its fully rising stage during the end of the 14th century. Therefore, the prominent Sufi personalities like Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Sayyid Muhammad Hisari, Mir Muhammad, Sayyid Jamalud-Din Bukhari and Sayyid Ismail Shami entered Kashmir in a rapid lineage. However, they were having different organizational and devotional practices but their ideological frame work was mostly based on the works of Ibn-i-Arabi. They came forward that some notice will be taken about Shaikh Alaud-Daula's criticism of *Wahdatul Wajud*. Here it is obvious that the Najmud-Din Kubra's traditions proved powerful for Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani to take action based on Shaikh Alaud-Daula Simnanis opposition of *Wahdatul-Wajud.*[5]

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1. Master Asadullah Rishi, *Kashmir aur Islam*, Islamabad (Anantnag), nd., p. 61.
2. *Social and Religious Conditions on the eve of Spread of Islam in Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 30.
3. Shafi Ahmad Qadiri, *Kashmiri Sufism*, Srinagar, 2002, pp. 207-9.
4. Fida Muhammad Khan Hasnain, *Shah Hamadan of Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2001, p. 10.
5. Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, Srinagar, 2003, pp. XXX.

During the first half of the fourteenth Century, especially from 1101-1320 A.D., politically the power of the Lohara dynasty shifted to the Shahmir Sultans which is generally regarded by the Kashmiris as the peaceful era. In the Sultanate period of Kashmir its rulers also preferred for the progress of Islam. The Sayyids also played a key role for strengthening the Sultanate under their patronization. All this, influenced the socio-economic conditions of the people of Kashmir.[1]

In the early Shahmiri rule 1339-1470 Islam was a great issue in the existence of the Shahmiri Sultanate in Medieval Kashmir. With the result more and more Hindu Brahmans came under the banner of Islam that united the religious missionaries, reciters of the *Holy Qur'an* and keepers of the *Traditions*, prayer leaders and Sufis in the *khanqahs,* all these played a crucial role. And the practices of these missionaries in spreading Islam ultimately affected all the aspects of life in Medieval Kashmir. So in this way they are the main figures highlighting the relations between medieval state and society of Kashmir.[2]

Sultan Shahmir 1339-42 A.D. was a *Hanifia* Muslim and for the strength of the medieval state he promoted Islam in the Valley by preaching *Hanifia* doctrines throughout the Valley.[3] While as the practices and Hanifia doctrines by the Sayyids remained fruitful in maintaining cultural unity even during the decline of the idol worship etc.[4] Sultan Shahmir struck coins under his name as Shams-ud-Din.[5] He started a new era and changed the Laukika Calendar of the Hindu period. The new calendar with the Rinchana's accession (in 1324 A.D) and was the Yazidgird used in offices of the Sultanate period that later on removed by the Mughals.[6]

Kota Rani lastly accepted Shahmir as her husband and she converted to Islam. The wife and husband remained together one day and one night; than Shahmir imprisoned her and he himself ascended the throne and *khutba* was read to his name.[7] In the initial stage of Shahmir's rule, he made friendly relations to the local nobility

1. R.L. Hangloo, *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, New Delhi, 2000, p. 75
2. Ibid., pp.75-6.
3. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (tr.) Vol. IV, op. cit, p. 263.
4. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 76.
5. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (tr.), Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 263.
6. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srinagar, 1974, p. 46.
7. Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, *The Tabqat-i-Akbari*, (English tr.), Brajendranath De, (ed.), Bani Prashad, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 635-36

and also appointed the men from other faith in the administration of the medieval state in Kashmir. He married his own son to the daughter of a local noble Lakshima. It means he made friendly relations by entering them in his nobility he strengthened the power of the Shahmiri dynasty.[1] Shahmir recruited men from Chaks and Magres for his standing army. Shahmiri's two sons Jamshed and Ali Shir succeeded their father.[2] Shahmir stopped the continue exploitation from the preceding rulers. He gave in written that he will not take revenue more than 1/6th of the total produce.[3] He took for the abolition of heavy taxes etc., and fixed the assessment of land at seventeen percent on the grass produce. All these steps taken by Shahmir, reveals the political aims and objectives to won over the confidence of the Sayyids which were yet not completely mixed in Kashmiri society and for the attainment of political stability in his administration, purposefully he did all these remissions of taxes etc.[4]

During the period of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) of Kashmir the Asian content was having miserable conditions. Particularly the Muslim countries were involved in the disturbance and commotion. After one hundred years period, Islam was rising up with full confidence. The responsibility of the propagation and preaching Islam was taken by the Sufis. On the other side, the challenge of Timur was so strong that if Sultan Sikandar would not be the ruler of Kashmir at that time the whole territory of Kashmir had ruined and destroyed by the horse's hoof of Timur. However, it was the result of the political statesmanship of Sikandar by which he not only escaped the Kashmir from the wrath of Timur but he also made such a barbarize ruler as his friend. Timur himself profess love to his statement, that his sword is for the stability of Islam and to finish infidelity.[5]

In the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din (1355-73 A.D.) a number of Sayyids entered Kashmir and they preached Islam in the Valley as Sufis.[6] These Sayyids migrated from various parts of Central Asia particularly Sayyid Ali Hamadani who came from the Hamadan province of Persia. It is mentioned in translation of *Tarikh-i-*

1. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 77
2. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 264
3. *The Tabqat-i-Akbari*, (Eng. tr.), op. cit., p. 636
4. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 263
5. T.N. Arnold, *The preaching of Islam*, London, 1935, p. 256
6. Sayyid Ali Kashmiri, *Shajra-i-Saddat Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu), Ghulam Rasool Bhat, Srinagar, 2008, p. 22

Rashidi, that the order is said to have been expelled by Timur in about 1380 A.D. It was a group of some 700 Sayyids along with their leader Sayyid Ali and they migrated towards Kashmir.[1] For these Sayyids, Sultan Shihab-ud-Din made all arrangements for their re-habitation. He granted a number of villages in the *pargana* Kulgam to Sayyid Hassan Simani and Sayyid Haidar. He was thinking that Sayyids will give complete direction to the medieval state during his reign. Sayyid Taj-ud-Din and Sayyid Husain by their good activities they had won the hearts of the Sultan and of the other nobles.[2] Nugam *pargana* was granted to Hazrat Tajud-Din by Sultan Shihab-ud-Din.[3] A large number of *madrasas* were opened by Sultan Shams-ud-Din, where the knowledge of *Qur'an*, *Hadith* and *fiqh* was provided to the people.[4]

G.M.D. Sufi writes about Shah Hamadan that he followed the Naqashbandi *tariqa* but here the author ignores that Shah Hamadan's concern was from the Kubravi Sufi order.[5] However, the other Sayyids who came with Sayyid Ali Hamadani were also given lands by Sultan Qutub-ud-Din (1373-89). The Chitar region in the *pargana* Khourpora was granted to Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din Atai and the villages of Sepora and its adjoining areas in *pargana* Vihi was given to Sayyid Firruz, the area of Naidkhai was granted to Sayyid Kamal, and the area of Lethpora was given to Mir Sayyid Kazim. Mir Sayyid Rukun-ud-Din and Mir Sayyid Fakhr-ud-Din were the two brothers and they were granted the Olar *pargana*. Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din, who was well educated in the Islamic theology, lived at Srinagar and he took the responsibility of a councilor to the Sultan at the time of his necessity. The area of Bijbihara along with other facilities was granted to Mir Sayyid Muhammad Qurashi and Mir Sayyid Muhammad Abdullah. And these Sayyids are also buried in above mentioned *pargans.*[6] The process of conversion to Islam after the death of Mir Sayyid Sayyid Ali Hamadani was further continued by his followers, some renowned Sayyids mentioned above were: Mir Sayyid Haidar, Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din, Sayyid Kamal, Sayyid Kamal-i-Sani, Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din Atai, Sayyid Firuz Alias, Sayyid Jalal, Sayyid Muhhammad Qazim, Sayyid Rukn-ud-Din, Sayyid Muhammad Qureshi and

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1. Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (Eng. tr.), N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, Delhi, 1991, pp. 432-33
2. *Shajra-i-Saddat Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu), op. cit., p. 23
3. Ibid., p. 24
4. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 78
5. G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 37
6. *Shajra-i-Saddat Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu), op. cit., pp. 31-33

Sayyid Azizullah, they reached to different places of the Valley and wherever they stayed, those abodes became the centers for the propagation of Islam and by the influence and impact of these saints, the people accepted the new faith and the way of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH).[1]

Hence the Shahmiri Sultan's made a good impression on the Muslim community of Kashmir who won the hearts of their subjects and they also regarded the Sayyids not only by their spiritual role but these Shahmir Sultans wanted and desired their state would be consolidated. In this way they respected the Sayyids and they took such steps to maintain powerful state.[2]

Even the Islam played a crucial role in the medieval period in almost all the aspects in the field of religion, law, philosophy, science, art and literature but one thing also is kept in mind that, in the medieval period in all parts of the Islamic world there were different traditions in vogue.[3] It is obvious that with the passage of time according to the demand of the social conditions the famous practices and believes also changed. Similarly in early medieval Kashmir, Islam forced individual allegiance to depend upon the doctrinal legitimacy of the Sultan. It was not because that Sultan acquires all the rights singly but because it was the *Qur'anic* demand. Therefore the Sayyids wanted that the complete obedience of the people to the Shahmir Sultans as a religious obligation defined in terms of *Shriat* and justified by the *Qur'anic* obligation *'obey God, obey Prophet and obey those with authority among you'* the English translation of the *Qur'anic* Verse is:

"O Ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger and those charged with authority among you."[4]

In this way with the passage of time the Shahmir Sultans adopted this obligation to maintain their position and hence the relations between the Sayyids and the Shahmir Sultans became very close because it was the necessity of the time in which the Sayyids also got high esteem. Therefore, the different type of bonds,

1. *Islamic Culture in Kashmir,* op. cit., pp. 37-38.
2. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 79.
3. Ibid., p.80.
4. Abdullah Yousf Ali, (English tr.), *The Holy Quran*, First Edition, Claymont DE 19703, Surah-4: *Al Nisa*, Verse No. 59, 1998, p. 199.

closeness between the Sayyids and the Shahmir sultans were expressed oaths and vows for the benefits received and for further favors' to the sultans.[1]

The Sayyids mostly preferred to live in the rural areas so that they made social basis strong for the Sultanate and they also lived in organizations in the urban areas and adopted themselves in the urban life. In this way they get benefited as making links and continue contacts with urban and rural aristocracy.[2] Even the Sayyids were having different language, ethos and status from the largely Kashmiri speaking people besides all these variations these Sayyids with the short period of time raised into different prominent orders such as Suhrawardi, Qadri, Naqashbandi etc. and put deep influence on the socio-economic, political and cultural conditions of the medieval Kashmiri society.[3]

Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413 AD) was a powerful ruler. He conquered Ladakh and also subdued the rulers of Ohind and Jammu and the Sultan accepted to make matrimonial alliances with these rulers and accepted their daughters in marriage. He was much interested in learning and the learned people. Hence from Persia and Central Asian countries a large number of religious missionaries and scholars came to his court. They (Sayyids) came into groups, and one most important group was the class of 300 Sayyids and scholars headed by Mir Muhammad Hamadani. Mir Muhammad came to Kashmir in 1393 A.D., as the Sultan himself became his *murid* in 'word and deed'. The author (Zutshi) says that an office of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* was established to maintain *shriat* in the country. Music and wine were prohibited and banned. The author also uses the term *But-Shikan* (iconoclast) that is the breaker of the idols, for the Sultan Sikandar.[4] The Sayyids participated in the functions of the state. The basic concern of the orders of Sayyids was belonged to the different social groups. As the ruling elite, the Sayyids played an important role in solving different social and religious matters. In this way peaceful social communication in the

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1. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 80.
2. Ibid., p. 81.
3. Ibid.
4. N.K., Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir An age of Enlightenment*, Lucknow, 1976, pp. 14-15. Here the term *But-shikan* is used for the Sultan Sikandar but it is not true that whether he was breaker of the idols or not because Jonaraja who was the near contemporary historian, he had not at a single place used this term in his work, hence for the first time this term is used for the Sultan Sikandar by a Kashmiri historian Sayyid Ali Kashmiri in his book *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*. All the other Persian historians on wards him used this baseless term in their different works.

medieval society continued.[1] It is well known fact that Islam spread throughout the world mostly by the missionaries' whether in the form of *pir* (spiritual guide) or preachers. These *pirs* or preachers felt their primary duty to preach Islam where ever they went. Similarly the Sufi missionaries penetrated into the valley of Kashmir, and got influenced its people by their method of preaching and persuasion.[2]

Sultan Qutb-ud-Din ruled for the period of sixteen years. And, it was during his rule that in the year A.H. 783 / A.D. 1381, though some say in A.H. 773 / A.D. 1371, one of the God's noble men Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani came to Kashmir.[3] Sultan Qutb-ud-Din had married to the two real sisters because he was not fully aware about the Islamic laws and *Shariah* rules and such laws were not yet implemented there in the Valley. Later on the Sultan divorced one of his wives on behest of the Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani's consent. Even the Sultan Qutb-ud-Din also dressed himself after their (infidels) fashion. But the Sultan gave up all these un-Islamic activities and on behalf of the Mir Sayyid Ali's sayings; he adopted the Muslim dress because the Sultan obeyed his (Sayyid's) orders whole heartedly. More over Sayyid Ali gave a *kulah mubarak* (cap) to the Sultan Qutb-ud-Din. And the Sultan Qutb-ud-Din always wore this cap under his crown. Hence this cap continuously passed on, to the succeeding Sultans up to Sultan Fateh Shah. And this cap was finally buried with the dead body of Sultan Fateh Shah in A.D 1517. With the result of the burial of the cap, there started the indication of the end of this dynasty and lastly it turned the state power and kingship to the hands of the Chaks.[4] But according to Diddamari, Sayyid Ali arrived in Kashmir in A.H 781/ A.D 1379 and returned back and he leaved Kashmir in A.H 786/ A.D 1384.[5]

Sultan Sikandar like his predecessors made grants and important steps were taken by him to provide areas to the Sayyids in different parts of the valley. The platform at Alau'd-Din Pora by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani for addressing the religious gatherings, later on, a *khanqah* was constructed at that place in the time of Mir Mohammad Hamadani. It is located at the centre of Srinagar and the Sultan Sikandar

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1. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 81.
2. *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 33.
3. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), op. cit., p.34.
4. Mohammad Azam Diddamari, *Tarikh-i-Azami*, (Urdu tr.), Dr. Khwaja Hameed Yazdani, *Waqiat-i- Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1998, pp. 75-6. Also see: *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), Kashi Nath Pandit, op. cit., p. 35.
5. Ibid., p. 76.

allotted a few villages to provide subsistence to its employees and inmates.[1] As the Sultan Sikandar created the post of *Shaikhu'l-Islam* in this country of Kashmir and during this period many Sayyids participated in the medieval state. He offered this view to the Sayyids to enforce the *Shariat*.* It was a department of ecclesiastical and judiciary and a number of villages and hamlets from each *pargana* were reserved and granted for that noble post. Hence for this purpose that from the income of these villages granted for this post, that stipends and alms could be distributed among the *Qazis*, learned, Sayyids, the mendicants, the needy, travelers and to the pilgrims according to their needs properly.[2]

"The application of Muslim judicial law arrived at critical notions of legal equality in the eyes of Islamic law, and this would have helped to attract more and more people towards the new political system. Therefore, the concentration of judicial powers in the hands of *Shaikhu'l-Islam* was considered an important instrument in hegemonizing the population and in strengthening the centralizing spirit of the state's authority."[3]

Sultan Sikandar realized that Islam is one of the main bases for political unity and strength. In Kashmir Islam was spread through the Sayyids. And the Sultan Sikandar felt that Sayyids are the main figures among his subjects those deserve for his legitimacy and the loyalty. So with growing speed of Islam in Kashmir, it strengthened the State more. Hence Islam as a true religion accepted by the majority of the people and the Sayyids continuously penetrated into the wider areas of rural and urban Kashmiri society.[4] Even they were died and buried at different places in various *parganas* of urban and rural areas of Kashmir.[5]

"It was through this process that large sections of the rural poor owed allegiance to them for having controlled their social and economic life. Particularly when the Sayyids retained control of large proportions of cultivable waste in areas like Vihi, Nagam, Sepora, Tral, Nunwani, Chitar, Avanmpora, Naidhai, Martand,

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1. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), op. cit., p. 46
2. Ibid., p. 45. ****Shariat*** is the divinely revealed law of God, had absolute authority. It is called ***fiqha*** that is prepared in the light of *Qur'an* and *Hadith*
3. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 83-84
4. Ibid., p. 84
5. *Shajra-i-Sadat Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), op. cit., pp. 41-2

Bijbehara, Khurpora, Lar, Pakh, Vachi, Soura, Kulgam, Biru and various other areas."[1]

The Sayyids in the medieval society of Kashmir strengthened their position by making contacts with different social groups in the society to their own orders. They almost dominated all fields of the human society and evolved into a landed aristocracy, through the royal patronage of the Shahmir Sultans they got influenced by the implicit in Muslim notions of status, wealth and respect almost naturally provided to them.[2]

Biographical sketches of Sufis, their teachings and the Sufi-Sultan relations.

There was such a large influence of the Sayyids over the administration besides their influence on society and on the different areas of the state. However, in the offices one had to act according to the instructions of Sayyids to preserve his official position. It is clear that the Suha-Bhata was the Chief Minister of Sultan Sikandar who along with Sultan Sikandar met to Mir Muhammad Hamadani and got converted into Islam. Hence Mir Muhammad Hamadani gave a Muslim name **'Saif-ud-Din'** to Suha Bhata. In this way Saif-ud-Din's daughter Subiya Razia was married with Mir Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani. Therefore, Saif-ud-Din also worked for the welfare of Islam and he also became *murid* of Mir Muhammad Hamadani.[3]

Much more Sayyids and learned men came to Kashmir from outside the Kashmir at different places during the rule of Sultan Sikandar. The few names are mentioned as Mir Sayyid Ahmad bin Sayyid Muhammad Ishfani who wrote *Tanvir* is based on the commentary on *Faraiz-i-Sirraji*. Here Kashi Nath Pandit elaborates it in his foot note that, "It is not clear from the text whether *Tanvir* was a work other than *Faraiz-i-Sirraji* or a part of its title." The other emigrated was Sayyid Muhammad Khwari. He wrote *Khawar Namesh*. Keeping mysticism in mind, he wrote a commentary on *Lum'at*. These learned men were among the close ones of Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani. Another important Sayyid was Qazi Sayyid Hassan Shirazi,

1. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 84
2. Ibid., p. 85. Also see: *Tarikh-i-Kabir-Kashmir*, Lacknow, A.H. 1321/ A.D. 1902, p. 21-25
3. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkriy-i- Auliya-i-Kashmir*, Part II, op. cit., p. 101-2

who had held the post of *Qazi* in Shiraz in Persia. However, he reached Kashmir during the late rule of Sikandar and he was also appointed by the Sultan Sikandar on the post of *Qazi* in his country (Kashmir). He is credited about the collection of *Ratniyeh* [*sic*] *Hadith,* but it is quite clear and visible that he was among the pupils of Mir Muhammad Hamadani.[1]

Amir Sayyid Ahmad Madani was a renowned Sayyid who emigrated along with his family from Medina and settled in Kashmir. He was having spiritual strength and after his death his burial place became a shrine for the devotees to receive blessings. And Shaikh Jalal Bukhari came to Kashmir from Bukhara. Therefore, a number of Sayyids having high status came to Kashmir along with Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari. He is buried in the *mazar-i-salatin.* Mir Taju'd-Din and Mir Sayyid Burhan are buried at Iskandar Pora.* Sayyid Nuru'd-Din was a companion of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din and he is buried at Qutb-ud-Din Pora.** Baba Adahm came to Kashmir from Balkh along with his other companions and attendants. Baba Hassan Mantaqi who was among the followers of Baba Adham was the father of Mir Veys and he after his death is buried in the *mazar-i-sulatin* (grave yard of the Sultans of Kashmir). The great grandfather of the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* named Mullah Hasamu'd-Din was also one of the followers of Baba Haji Adham. He was actually from Ghazna. Mullah Hasamu'd-Din served in the kitchen of the saint Baba Haji Adham and other his companion darvishes. Baba Haji Adham's dead body is buried in the Bagh-i-mir Veys at the foot of the *khanqah* of Mulla Parsa near Koh-i-maran in Srinagar. Another important Sayyid who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar was Mulla Parsa and he built a *khanqah* for himself in the foot of the Koh-i-maran.[2]

Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir emphases upon and had much interest to promote literature and for which his capital got such a fame, as that of Iraq and Khurasan.[3] As the Sayyids played a key role in the religious matters through the political command and social and economic authority over the people of Kashmir. The Sayyids after the

1. *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* (English tr.), op. cit., pp. 42-43.
2. Ibid., pp. 43-45. * Iskandar Pora:-It was founded by the Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir.** Qutb-ud-Din Pora:- Sultan Qutb-ud-Din founded the locality (city) of Qutb-ud-Din Pora in A.H 786 / A.D. 1384 and it is situated in the city of Srinagar. Also see: *Tarikh-i-Sayyed Ali (History of Kashmir 1374-1570* (English tr.), Dr. Zubaida Jan, Srinagar, 2009, p.30.
3. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 268.

end of Sultan Sikandar's reign dominated both the secular and religious jurisdiction of the medieval Kashmiri society of the state. In this way, the Sayyids enjoyed the political and cultural hegemony. Hence the political power now turned into their hands through the different levels of power, prestige and wealth.[1]

Sultan Sikandar was succeeded by his eldest son Amir Khan under the title of Ali Shah. He ruled from 1413-19 A.D., but in the beginning, he was a minor and the entire responsibilities of the affairs of the state were depended upon Suha Bhuta who was the Prime Minister of the ruler. In this way Sayyids made such closeness to the Prime Minister and it was due to their influence Suha Bhata first converted to Islam and then persecuted the few Hindu Brahmans who refused to accept Islam.[2] Hence the Sayyids headed Mir Qaiser got such a power that they for their own aim made political confusion in the medieval state. The civil war resulted Zain-ul-Abidin the brother of Ali Shah to ascend the throne of Kashmir but it was the Jasrat's invitation to Zain-ul-Abidin for the shelter and the Ali Shah's own ministers also did not give correct consents to him. All this made Ali Shah's power weak and he lost complete control over the kingdom. With the result of this, the Sayyids put Kashmir in confusion by violating the wives of the Kashmiris, subjecting them to iniquitous exactions, and to all sorts of oppressions. Although the procession of the Sultan was also not secure. As the Jonaraja says: "Lofty houses, excellent horses, fine dresses, large gems all that adorned the king (Ali Shah) were now wrested by the Yavanas (foreign Muslims)"[3]

Sultan Ali Shah had Saif-ud-Din his Chief Minister and the other ministers were Laddi Magre and Sankar, the Physician. There became jealousy among the ministers as Saif-ud-Din was the dominating minister. Meanwhile with disturbing political conditions Saifud-Din had put to death to Laddi Magre. Hence Saif-ud-Din also died after some time. And Ali Shah appointed his younger brother Shahi Khan as his Prime Minister. As Ali shah was religious man he decided to give up the throne and spent the rest of his life in the Mecca. Even Shahi Khan tried to persuade his elder brother that, 'to serve people is the best form of devotion to Allah.' But this did not have any effect on Ali Khan and he left Kashmir after giving the charge of Kashmir to

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1. *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 86-7
2. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 269
3. *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir An age of Enlightenment*, op. cit., p. 35

his younger brother Shahi Khan under the title of Zain-ul-Abidin. When Ali Shah reached Jammu where he wanted to meet the Raja of Jammu who was his father-in-law but he disapproved his son-in-law's decision to go for pilgrimage to Mecca. With the result Ali Shah was never determined of his strong will and he changed his idea of going for pilgrimage to Mecca, rather he returned to Kashmir via Rsjouri along with the army of Jammu and Rajouri to the claim of his throne. Therefore Zain-ul-Adidin did not resist against his brother and left Kashmir and went to Sialkot and he sought the help of Jasrat Khokar. When Ali Shah heard this news of Jasrat Khokhar's help to Zain-ul-Abidin , Ali Shah decided to punish the Jasrat even he was avoided by the Raja of Jammu that he should not raise on the mountains until Jammu army reaches because the army of the Khokar's is very cleaver but Ali Shah ignored this and continued his march. Ali Shah after reaching at Thana and in this battle of Thana Ali Shah was defeated by the Jasrat. In this way, when Zain-ul-Abidin reached at Srinagar and he was welcomed by the people. But once again Ali Shah along with Jammu forces tried to invade Kashmir and from the opposite side Zain-ul-Abidin also marched via Baramulla and after reaching Uri he defeated Ali Shah along with his forces. And Ali Shah was captured and was executed by Jasrart, without consulting Zain-ul-Abidin.[1]

"Kashmir thus became the meeting place of two mighty traditions the heart of India's monistic wisdom-religion, which was Kashmir Saivism, and Erfan, the wisdom of the *Qur'an.* The geographical situation of the valley, the rich cultural heritage of the people and radical nature of Islam that came to Kashmir, were all responsible for this unique synthesis. This resulted in emergence of a remarkable school or order of Islamic Sufis-the Rishis who exerted enormous influence on the religious and philosophical beliefs of the people, and molded their mind and set up the ideal of religious tolerance and abiding faith in the grace of God. The founder of this school was Shaikh Nour-ud-din Alias Nund Rishi who flourished towards the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries."[2]

1. *Kashmir under the Sultans*, op. cit., pp. 67-70
2. *Kashmir and Power Politics, The Heart of Asia,* op. cit., p. 17

Introduction of Shia'ism in Kashmir.

Shi'ism first introduced in Kashmir towards the beginning of the 16th century. They came to clash with the Sufis who were having their orthodox approach with the Sunni traditions. In the early Islamic history both Sufism and Shia'ism were affected by the orthodox elements attached to the *Umaiyad* and the *Abbasid* courts. But both were agree to accept Ali as their respective leader. "Shi'ism is recognized 'Ali as their first Imam and the rightful successor of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW), declaring the first three successors of Muhammad to be 'usurpers'.[1] The Sufis generally traced their silsilas from Ali down to their own times." In the 12th and 13th century the Ismaili activities in Persia and from here all Sufis including Najmud-in Kubra were spread. This did not any effect on the Sufis that they remain away from Isna 'Ashri Shi'is who were having no attachment with the political activities of Ismaili's. But in nutshell Sufis were against to some Isna Asari Shi activities like the Shi'is abusing the first three caliphs and to the A'isha the wife of the Prophet. In Kashmir also many Kubravi and Suhrawardi Sufis made serious efforts to support the Sunni tradition. However, during the 2nd half of the 16th century the Shi'i dominance in politics excavated this mission of Sufis.[2] Ram Nandan Sing in one of his papers on *'Buddhism in Kashmir'* mentions, "It was Buddhist mysticism which paved the way for Islamic Sufism in Kashmir."[3]

With the death and fall of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, however the Shias were also looked by a prominent Sufi Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. But after some passage of time Shias come into power for some short term and Ghazi Shah even compelled Shaikh Hamza Makhdum to leave Srinagar. He was asked to go Beru a village 32 kilometers from Srinagar. But he continued the process of converting many people into Sunnis. As there was more and more opposition to the Chaks who were basically the Shias, meanwhile Shaikh Hamza sent a mission to the Mughal emperor Akbar's court under Baba Daud Khaki, his disciple and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi a scholar and poet. With the invitation of these people, Mughal emperor Akbar invaded Kashmir and finally in 1586 A.D they annexed Kashmir with the Mughal Empire.[4] "The Mughal rule lasted

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1. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., pp. XXXI
2. Ibid.
3. *5000 Years of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 54
4. *Kingdom of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 507

in Kashmir for 167 years (1586-1753). They tried their level best to give Kashmir a clean administration, peace and economic prosperity in as much as, it could be possible in those times. They gave patronage to Kashmiri saints, men of art and letters and nobles irrespective of religious considerations."[1]

Mohammad Ishaq Khan in one of his paper published as *'Six Centuries of Islamisation in Kashmir: Retrospect and Prospects*; that "historians have vogue notions about the conversion to Islam in Kashmir. We are all familiar with the theory of forcible conversions, though rejected by historians on scientific grounds; however, the popular belief and, for that matter even a plethora of works have since been written on this belief, that mass conversions to Islam took place in the valley either through the miraculous exploits of saint missionaries from Central Asia and Persia or through their searing missionary zeal. In some scholarly works, a great deal of emphasis has been laid on the supernatural elements in the Sufis personality as drawing the common folk towards Islam."[2]

Mirza G.H. Arif Beg, in his paper *"Role of Mystics and Sufis in the propagation of Islam in Kashmir"*, mentions that the healthy climate of Kashmir with its magnificent high mountains has been from the very long run selected some God fearing and loving men for His meditation. In this land of idolatry there were some mystics who believed in One Supreme Being and were having full dedication and devotion towards God's will. Among these mystics there was some note worthy early Sufis in Kashmir who propagated Islam in Kashmir, like Bulbul Shah and after 73 years of Bulbul Shah's visit to Kashmir in 762 A.H / 1360-1361 A.D another great Sufi Sayyid Taju'd-Din a first cousin of Shah Hamadan and he settled in Shahab-ud-din pora. The population of this area at that time was some sixty one thousand people. Many of them become his followers. Even the ruler Sultan Shahab-ud-din also became one of his active followers. Then Sayyid Hussain Simnaani arrived in 775 Hijra / 1373-1374 A.D and settled in Kulgam Kashmir. Then Mir Sayyid Ali who being a Sufi was also a great scholar who wrote some 170 books and an important thing which he gave to the Kashmiris was a treatise called *Aaraddi Fathiyah*, giving all fundamentals of Islam. Even today this *Aaraddi Fathiyah* is recited loudly in the

1. *A History of Muslim rule in Kashmir 1320-1819*, op. cit., p. 346
2. Ibid., p. 64.

mosques and *khanqahs* and *dargahs* of the Kashmir. He also gave a book of lyrics called *Chilhil Israar,* forty secrets.[1]

It was because of the arrival of these great Sufis and scholars right from the fourteenth Century in Kashmir that Islam spread so quickly and peacefully through the entire valley with in a century. However, it is not an easy task to convert someone from one religion to another religion but it was by exchanging spiritual experiences and knowledge in the field by the acceptance of superiority of one mystic by the other.[2]

The Muslim mystics arrived from the outside were then followed by a local spiritual movement 'Rishism' founded by Nund Rishi who was a poet saint. As the historian Hassan, defines the term Rishi, "a saint who completely surrenders to the will of God, and abstains from the pleasures of life, which in other words signifies the same spiritual eminent that a mystic attains." Nund Rishi converted few Hindu *sadus* like Buma *sadu* of Buma, in the Anantnag district and the second was Zain Singh renamed as Baba Zainauddin Wali and after their conversion to Islam, hundreds of their followers accepted Islam without any objection. Both these converted spiritual saints played a crucial role for the propagation of Islam in Kashmir.

These Rishis were wearing woolen cloths and wooden *chapels,* eating vegetables and they also disliked the luxurious life. Leaving apart this, there was another type of spiritual movement known as *peeri-muridi.* The *peer* or *murshid* always tried to show their *murids* or followers the righteous path (*Taquwa*) to purify their hearts and to lead them to the stages of spiritual heights. And they gave them information about the knowledge of Islam.[3]

According to M.A. Stein, Islam entered into Kashmir not by forcible conversion but by gradual conversion. No doubt invasions from South and Central Asia prepared the ground for the establishment of Islam in Kashmir but actually it was spread by the Sufi saints and their hard work of religious interest.[4]

1. *5000 Years of Kashmir,* op. cit., pp. 72-74.
2. Ibid., p. 75.
3. Ibid., p. 77
4. Ibid., p. 78

A woman saint poetess who was actually born in a Hindu family named Lalleshwari, she was contemporary to Sayyid Ali and she made this task of popularizing Islam easy. She preached harmony between Hindu Vedantism and Sufism. It benefited in the process of conversion. Mir Sayyid Ali's son Mir Mohammad Hamadani was born in 1372 first arrived at Kashmir in 1393 along with 300 Sayyids and scholars. Sultan Skindar of Kashmir highly regarded him. The three villages namely Wachi, Tral and Nunawani were granted him for his maintenance but the Mir Mohammad Hamadani spent the income of these granted villages as a *waqf* for the *Langer Khana.*[1]

There were many reasons for the speedy spread of Islam in Kashmir. Geographical conditions also paved way from Central Asia etc., to the Muslims to enter into Kashmir in a continuous movement. And 2ndly this process peacefully promoted by the local Rishis which made further easy for the Kashmir's to understand from them in their own language and it socially and morally proved beneficial for the spread of Islam. Socially it was a suitable time because the common masses were generally suffering and they were generally exploited by the rich and powerful.[2] Then common people disagreed by the meaningless rituals made by the Brahmans for their selfish ends. Kashmiris during that particular period was a nation but disappeared all their basic rights. In such circumstances Islam as a simply monotheistic creed giving equality irrespective of caste, colour, and creed appeared on the soil of Kashmir. Another reason is that due to Buddhism in Kashmir caste system was going to end, with the result, Hindus power of resistance with passage of time weakened. However the Sufis who led a pious life and mixing freely with the general masses thus converted them to the religion of Islam. The invasion of Dulacha on Kashmir further weakened their social solidarity, so the new faith i.e. Islam spread very quickly in the Valley.[3]

"The most important phase of the development of Sufism was the organization of the Sufis into silsilas"[4] "Sufism reached Kashmir after it had entered

1. M.L. Kapur, *A History of Medieval Kashmir (1320-1586)*, Jammu, 1971, pp. 188-89
2 Ibid., pp. 188-89.
3. Ibid., p. 203.
4. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. xxvi.

the last and most important phase of its history–the organization of *khanqahs* and silsilas."[1]

Suhrawardi order:

The first Sufi order that entered Kashmir was the Suhrawardi order one of the reputed Sufi orders. It was originally founded by Shaikh Shihabud-Din Abu Hafs Umar Bin Abdullah (1144-1234) who was the nephew and successor of Shaikh Ziyaud-Din Abul-Najib-Suhrawardi (d.1167). One of the disciples of Shaikh Shihabud-Din was Shah Nimatullah Farsi, who in turn initiated Sayyid Sharfud-Din into Suhrawardi order and it was he who first entered Kashmir with the Suhrawardi silsila, during the 14th Century.[2] He came to Kashmir from Turkistan via Central Asia and Persia and it was the period when Suha Deva was ruling over Kashmir.[3] Sayyid Sharafu'd-Din is also known by the name of Bulbul Shah was a leading Sufi under whom Richana got converted into Islam. The newly converted Richana (Sultan Sadru'd-Din), besides granting certain villages to Bulbul Shah for his maintenance, also built a *khanqah* and a *langer* (alms-house) attached to it for him, near his own palace. Bulbul Shah died in 727/ 1326 and was buried in his *khanqah* now called Bulbul Langer, situated in Srinagar.[4] After the death of the Bulbul Shah the Suhrawardi order in Kashmir saw some sort of decline there and we have no evidence of any of his disciples. But it does not mean that there was no one to run the *khanqah* as it is well maintained till now.[5]

After the death of Richana in 1323, Hindu rule was once again re-established in Kashmir. It is most likely that the royal patronage extended to the *khanqah* during Richana's reign might have stopped. Even Richana's widow Kota Rain re-married Udayanadeva, the Hindu ruler who came to the throne after Richana.[6]

It was in 1339 A.D. that Kashmir came under the rule of Sultan Shams-ud-din, commonly Known as Shah Mir, who was the first to establish Muslim ruler in Kashmir. Though the Muslims were already entered the Valley long before the

1. Ibid., p. xxx
2. Ibid., p. 19
3. Ibid., pp. 19-20
4. Ibid., p. 20.
5 Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 20

establishment of their Sultanate. The process of penetration of Muslims into Kashmir had started in the eight Century and it gathered momentum just after the establishment of Shah Mir's dynasty in the Valley of Kashmir.[1]

Zain-ul-Abidin (*Bud Shah*) ruled Kashmir from 1420-70 AD. During this period another prominent Sufi of Suhrawardi order, namely Sayyid Muhammad Ishfani came to Kashmir. Zainul-Abidin warmly welcomed him and offered some state grants for his maintenance.[2]

"Sayyid Muhammad was the disciple of Sayyid Jalalud-Din Bukhari of Uch, popularly called Makhdum Jahaniyan (1308-84). Unlike his preceptor, Sayyid Muhammad lived a life of retirement." Initially he settled at Srinagar then retired to a village of Khanpur.[3]

The Next important saint of the Suhrawardi order was Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani, who was born at Kirman. He reached in India, most probably in Uch and then Multan where he met many Suharawardi Sufi saints, finally arriving to Kashmir. He was also having a long list of teachers' including Makhdum Jahaniyan, and was initiated in to his silsila by one Sayyid Mayan.[4] Sayyid Ahmad came to Kashmir during the reign of Nazuk Shah, who built a *khanqah* at Narwar in Srinagar for the saints and for the maintenance of *Langer* for the *khanqah* he made some grants of land.[5] As during this period Shiaism has been emerging in Kashmir therefore Sayyid Ahmad was bitterly against the Shi faith. Baba Masud also called "Narwur Sahib" was the prominent disciple of Sayyid Ahmad.

Sayyid Jamluud-Din Bukhari in A.H. 932 / AD 1525-1526 was another important Suhrawardi saint. Actually he was the disciple of Shaikh Hajji Abdul Wahhab Dehlavi who belonged to the Sufi chain of Mukhdum Jahaniyan.[6] On his arrival in Kashmir he stayed at *khanqah* of Malik Ahmad Yattu. He came to Kashmir in the first half of the 16th Century, besides the famous saint Shaikh Hamza. A large number of people gathered around him.[7]

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1. Ibid., p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 21.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 21-22
5. Ibid., p. 22.
6. Ibid., p. 23.
7. Ibid.

The Shaikh who was born at Tijir, in the district of Baramulla in the year 900 A.H. / 1494 A.D.,[1] was the son of Usman Raina who actually belonged to the Rajas of Suraj Bansi dynasty, among whom one Rawan Chandar accepted Islam and was given the title of Raina. It was a respectable title applied to the royal men.[2]

As the Shaikh Hamza by the Divinely help was informed in a dream "that you have to thank God, that He for your guidance had sent a visible *pir* named Hazrat Sayyid Jama'l-ud-Din Bukhari in this city (Srinagar), who is recently settled at the *khanqah* of Malik Ahmad Yattu, so, you have to go there so that you may got benefit from his presence and after accepting him your mystic preceptor you have to obey the sayings of the *pir*".[3] Hazrat Sayyid Jama'l-ud-Din put his *Qula mubarak* (cap) on the head of the Shaikh Hamza and told him to worship at some lonely place and after that tell him its results. Then Hamza an ascetic what he saw, told to his *pir*. However when the *pir* got this information of Hamza's result, he was very happy and he fully took him in his spiritual guidance. He ordered Shaikh Hamza to recite *zikr-i-khafi* (hidden invocation of God's names).[4] During this period of 16th century there were some conflicts among the Muslims regarding their faith. That is why nobody came to the service of the Sayyid Jama'l-ud-Din for his guidance except Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi. Therefore, Sayyid Jama'l-ud-Din decided to leave the Kashmir. Shaikh Hamza also requested him that he also wanted to accompany him. But the Sayyid Jama'l-ud-Din taught the Hamza some practices and rituals and told him to practice these firmly, and with the God's blessings, he will be successful to the highest status. And he also told the Shaikh Hamza that it is not suitable for him to travel such a long journey.[5] Hazrat Makhdumi Sayyid Jamma'l-ud-Din Bukhari came to Kashmir in A.H. 932 / AD 1525-1526 from Medina, and remained for six months with Shaikh Hamza in Kashmir and then returned back, after finally training Shaikh Hamza and declared, "that I am spiritually always along with you and always ready to appear for your help and there is no need of any trouble and you can't come along with me because here is much more responsibility up on your shoulders."[6]

1. Ibid., p. 24.
2. Abul-Ashraf Saif-ud-Din Qari, (Urdu tr.), *Dasturu's-Salikin*, Srinagar, 1998, p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 34.
4. Ibid., pp. 34-5.
5. *Ibid.*,, pp. 36-7.
6. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., p. 17.

After the return of Sayyid Jamalu-Din to India the Suhrawardi silsila was further raised to its high level in Kashmir by Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, also called as "Mahibu'l-'Alam" (Beloved of the world).[1]

However, Shaikh Hamza practiced *Tasawwuf* in different *tariqas* (ways) and Sufis from that of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. In according to renowned scholar Rafiqi, "Shaikh Hamza carved out a path in Sufism different from that of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. Like the mystics Bayazid Bistami (d. 874) and Mansur Hallaj (d. 913), he was transported in a state of mystical ecstasy called *sukr*. Like Bayazid he cried out *"Subhani! Ma a'zama Sha'Ni"* ("Glory be to me! How great is my Majesty!"). When asked to explain his utterance the Shaikh replied: "One who makes such statement gets identified with Essence."[2] Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi belonged to the Suhrawardi order of Sufism.[3] Shaikh Hamza disliked even the mystical music. Once he suddenly reached at a place where there was a party of *Sama*, although he was going to offer prayers but as he moved ahead, then he stopped and told that even he had already made ablution but now as he heard *Sama* which is against *Shriah,* and then he made new ablution and offered prayer.[4]

The period of Shaikh Hamza in the History of Kashmir is very important. It was the period when there was the decline of the Shah Mir dynasty and Chaks were rising to power. Majority of the Chaks were Shi'is.[5] As the Chaks coming from Dardistan and after completing one hundred years in Kashmir became the owners of this country they indulge in innovations and created many problems to *Ahle-i-Sunnah* of Kashmir. They become the strong enemies to the *ulama* and *mashiakh* but they did not succeed in such cruel activities. Among the Chaks Husain Shah Chak (1563-70) was one of the great jealous men and enemy to Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi. He continued to create miserable conditions for the Shaikh but at last he himself ashamed of his impure activities.[6] Another Chak ruler named Gazi Shah Chak was such an evil

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1. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit. p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 25.
3. Ibid., p.26.
4. *Dasturu's-Salikin*, (Urdu tr.), op. cit., p. 68. Although he heard Sama with spiritual enlightenment, the instrumental music too as *Zikr-i-Allah* (recitation of God) even though he disliked this practice.
5. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit. p. 26.
6. *Mohsin-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 249.

evil minded man that he made it necessary to oppose the Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi.[1] Gazi Chak (1561-63) when felt that his power is in danger, he issued a *farman* (royal order) that the Sufis, saints should be expelled from the city; particularly Shaikh Hamza should leave the city as soon as possible. With the result according to the *royal farman* (order) Shaikh Hamza along with his *murids* (disciples) and *khulfas* went from Srinagar to one of the villages of Biru called 'Ohna'. As the Shaikh reached there, Gazi Chak became the victim of leprosy disease and finally it became the cause of his death.[2] Thus Kashmiri Chak's utmost efforts for the misguidance of the Muslims, become fruitless because of the *ulama-i-Din* and *mashaikh* of Kashmir. There were other Sufis along with Shaikh Hamza exiled by Gazi Chak. But these Sufis where-ever they went, continued their mission of preaching Islam. Shaikh Hamza continued his mission at Biru and Khwaja Tahir Rafiq Asha-y-i at Dachanpora, Brang and Khothar. Furthermore Hazrat Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi was at pilgrimage to Mecca, and Baba Fatehullah Haqani migrated towards Sialkot and settled there. And Baba Dawud Khaki went to Multan and performed a pilgrimage visit to the shrine of *Piran-i-Tariqat*. Therefore, all these Sufis and *mashaikh* of *Tariqat* had thousands of the followers, henceforth a movement shacked the whole Chak rule. With the result the Chaks then tried to treat these devotees with a kindness and ordered that all those Sufis, *mashaikh* and *ulama* will be given the highest respect and regard.[3] Shaikh Hamza passed away from this world at an age of 84 years on 24 *Safar*, 984 A.H. / 23 May 1576 A.D at Srinagar. It was a period when Ali Shah Chak was the ruler of Kashmir. After his death, about 15 years later on Jalal-ud-Din Mohammad Akbar built a tomb on his grave and in 1821 A.D. Hafiz Ata Muhammad Khan reconstructed the shrine which till date is existed.[4] He was buried at the place of of which he wished during his life time and where he used to worship (meditation) i.e., at the slopes of Koh-i-Maran in the city of Srinagar.[5] The prominent disciples of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi were: Shaikh Ahmad Chagli, Hazrat Mir Baba Tula-Muli, Shaikh Nauroz Rishi, Khwaja Shams-ud-Din Pal, Shaikh Hasan Qari, Shaikh Ishaq

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1. Ibid., p. 252.
2. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., p. 28. ; See also, *Mohsin-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 255.
3. *Mohsin-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 256.
4. *Dasturu's-Salikin,* (Urdu tr.), op. cit., p. 21.
5. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., p. 34.

Qari, Shaikh Hardi Rishi, Maulvi Firoz and Hazrat Baba Dawud Khaki.[1] Among these Sufis, the last named was a man of high mystical status and famous scholar of his time. He belonged to the well known Ganai family of Kashmir and used *Khaki* as his title.[2] His works were; *Risala-i-Ghusliya, Rishi-Nama* or *Qasidu'l-Amiya, Wirdul-Muridin* and *Dasturu's-Salikin.*[3]

Since Baba Dawud was very obedient to his preceptor Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi but he had some difference with him over controversial Sufi practices. For example he approved *Sama*. According to Baba Dawud Khaki hearing *Sama* within the limited context as prescribed by the Sufi masters, creates God's love in man. However, his preceptor Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi was totally against *Sama*, he regarded it as forbidden practice, as the Suhrawardis do consider *Sama* as prohibited practice.[4] In the other Sufi practices Dawud Khaki emphases upon *kilwad dar anjuman and hosh dar dam*. And he made stress on *zikr-i-khafi* (inward remembrance of God) as against *zikr-i-jahr* (outward remembrance of God). He believed that the *zikr-i-jahr* was recited by the ignorant people.[5]

Rafiqi writes about Dawud Khaki's idea regarding the concept of *murshid* or *pir* in the Sufism, that, "regarding the necessity of *pir* (preceptor) for the person on the path to God, Baba Dawud approved the traditional Sufi view that if one has no *pir,* his guide is *Satan.* The *pir,* he maintained, is the deputy (*na'ib*) and *khalifa* of the Prophet (SAW). Hence the disciple should not try to find out the short comings of his preceptor."[6]

Baba Dawud was no doubt a great scholar of his period. He after completing his education was appointed by the Sultan first as a tutor to teach his princes. He was well educated and having deep knowledge, that is why, he was called the second as *'Imam A'zam* of Kashmir.[7] And when Baba Dawud was returning from India along

1. Ibi., p. 34.
2. Ibid., p. 74.
3. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century),* op. cit., p. 29.
4. Ibid., p. 30.
5. Ibid., p. 30. *Kilwad dar anjuman* literly means solitude even while in an assembly, that is one had living along the people of this world should meditate to God. Here the literally meaning of *Hosh dar dam* is the awareness while breathing. It clearly means that one should continue remember God's recitation while breathing whether inhaled or exhaled.
6. Ibid., p. 31.
7. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.) *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., p. 74.

with the army of the Mughal emperor Akbar, he fell ill and after returning from the visit of the shrine of the *Piran-i-Pir* of Multan and as in the company of Haji Ahmad Qari reached Kashmir in the same year he passed away from this world on A.H. 994/ 24 January, A.D.1586, in the Valley of Kashmir.[1] About Baba Dawud Khaki's tomb, first they decided to bury his dead body in Islamabad (Anantnag) but his followers took his dead body to Srinagar and then he was buried near the tomb of his spiritual master at Srinagar in *Astan-i-Alia*.[2]

Kubravi order:

So for the Kubravi order in Kashmir is concerned, it got much more importance as compared to other Sufi orders. Originally the order was founded by Ahmad bin 'Umaru'l-Khayuqi, also known as Najmu'd-Din Kubra born in Khwarazm, in A.H 540/ A.D 1145. Most of his time was spent in travelling the Muslim countries. In Khurasan, he came in contact with Shaikh Ismail Qasri**,** a disciple of Shaikh Abu'l-Najib Suhrawardi. It was Shaikh Ismail who advised him to go to Shaikh 'Ammar Yasir.[3] However, Shaikh Ammar Yasir took Najamu'd-Din within his spiritual circle and in turn, he told him that he should meet to Shaikh Ruzbihan for the purpose to receive more education. Shaikh Najamu Ruzbihan after realizing the spiritual progress of Najmu'd-Din, he sent him back to Shaikh 'Ammar Yasir, who ordered him to settle there in Khwarazm. As a result Khwarazm became the centre of his Sufis-tic activities.[4] Najmu'd-Din was the contemporary of Chingiz 1206-1227, at that time the whole of Central Asia and Persia was in disturbance, and Khurasan also could not save itself from the wrath of Chingiz Khan. However, Chingiz Khan offered protection to Najamu'd-Din, but he denied it and in 1221 A.D. in a battle with the Mongols, he sacrificed his life along with thousands of others.[5]

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1. Ibid., p. 85. ; *Dasturu's-Salikin,* (Urdu Tr.), Abul-Ashraf Saif-ud-Din Qari, op. cit., p. 24.
2. Ibid. Also see, Mohi-ud-din Miskeen, *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir,* Lacknow, A.H 1321/ A.D 1902, p. 158.
3. Amin Ahmad Ahmad Razi, *Haft-Iqlim,* Vol. III, Shirkat Sami Chape Aftat Kutub Iran, A.H. 1010/ A.D. 1594, p. 317. "*Kubra*" is an abbreviation of Najamu'd-Din's title "Tammatu'l-Kubra", which was given to him by his friends, in the days of his student life, on account of his victories in debates with his adversaries.
4. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century),* op. cit. p. 35.
5. *Haft-Iqlim,* Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 318-19.

The disciples of Najamu'd-Din Kubra spread the teachings of the Kubravi order to the various Muslim countries throughout the world, particularly in Persia and Central Asia and other adjoining areas.[1]

In Kashmir Qubravi order was founded and flourished by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. His connection with the Kubravi order was through the Raziu'd-Din Ali Lala. Raziud-Din had visited many countries and finally arrived Turkistan where he spent rest of his life in the *khanqah* of Shaikh Ahmad Yasu. He also met to Najamu'd-Din at Khwarazm and received spiritual guidance from him and become his disciple.[2]

As before the arrival of Mir Sayyid Ali to Kashmir, he sent his two cousins named Sayyid Taju'd-Din and Sayyid Husain to inform him about the religious conditions of the of the Valley of Kashmir. However, Sayyid Husain turned towards India but Sayyid Taju'd-Din who went to Kashmir was warmly welcomed by the ruler Sultan Shihab-ud-Din (1354-1373 A.D.) of the Kashmir. Sultan Shihab-ud-Din constructed a *kanqah* for Taju'd-Din at Shihabuddinpora. It was near the palace of the ruler Shiha-bu-Din. And, he also granted some villages of *pargana* Naogam for the maintenance of the *khanqah.*[3] Then Taju'd-Din also invited his brother Sayyid Husain to come to Kashmir. He was also welcomed on his arrival by Sultan Shihab-ud-Din who helped him to settle in a Kulgam village. Sayyid Husain breathed his last on 12 Ramzan, A.H 792 / 25 August, A.D 1390 at Kulgam village in the *pargana* Deusar.[4]

Sayyid Ali belonged to *Alawi Sadat* and was born at Hamadan on 12 *Rajab*, A.H. 714/ 22 October, A.D. 1314. He at the very young age memorized the *Holy Qur'an*. He was hereditary connected to Imam Hassan and Husain sons of fourth caliph Ali. Alau'd-Daula his maternal uncle took the responsibility of the Sayyid Ali Hamadan's education.[5] Like his elders, Mir Sayyid Ali also travelled at large, it is said that he performed pilgrimage (*hajj*) twelve times. When Timur (1335-1405) expelled and exploited the *Alawi Sayyids* of Hamadan, he travelled towards Kashmir

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1. Ali Asghar Hekmat, *Les Voyages D'un Mystique person De Hamadan Au Kashmir, Extrait Du Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1952, pp. 55-56.
2 *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit. p. 37. Yassi actually is a place in Turkistan it is said there is buried Muhammad ibn Hanifi son of the Fourth Caliph 'Ali and his tomb at Yassi is remembered with the Name "Hazrat-i-Turkistan". Shah Ahmad connects his concern to Muhammad Ibn Hanifi that is why he adds Yasu to his last name.
3. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir*, op. cit., p. 8.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

which is considered one of his best journeys.[1] It was the period of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din when Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir.[2] A noted medieval Kashmiri historian Sayyid Ali Kashmiri in his work *"Tarikh-i-Kashmir"* writes on the authority, of Muhammad Khawari's record that Mir Sayyid Ali arrived in Kashmir in A.H. 785/ A.D. 1383-84.[3] He along with his disciples travelled through the length and breadth of Kashmir. And preached the gospel of Islam, his disciples also travelled almost to the various regions particularly those places which were Hindu centers such as Pampure, Avantipora and Vija bore, where these people built *khanqahs* which become the centers of learning and preaching Islam in Kashmir.[4] Another Sayyid named Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din Atai who was one of the friends of Sayyid Ali along with his family also arrived at Kashmir and as an ascetic he stayed at village Cittar near Kachama.[5] Later on as the Sayyid Ali Hamdani wanted that *Shariah* should be implemented in Kashmir by the Sultan Qutb-ud-Din, but when he felt that Sultan is not interested in it he decided to leave the Valley of Kashmir, with the intention of performing pilgrimage (*hajj*). He departed from the Valley via Baramulla but after reaching at Kunar the chief of it, Muhammad Azam requested him to stay there for some days, he fell ill, on 6 *Zul-Hijja*, 786/ 19 January 1385 AD at the age 73. Later on his dead body was taken to Khattlan and was buried there in Kulab, on 25 *Jumad-ul Auwal,* 787/ 14 July, A.D. 1385.[6] But Sayyid Ali Kashmiri a noted historian is of the opinion that Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani died at Kunar (Swad) on 25 *Rabi-ul Awal* A.H. 787/ 5 June 1385 A.D. and also buried there, and later on from there about five

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1. *Les Voyages D'un Mystique person De Hamadan Au Kashmir, Extrait Du Journal Asiatique*,, op. cit., p. 62.
2. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* (Eng. tr.), N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, op. cit., pp. 432-33.
3. *Shajra-i-Saddat Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu), op. cit., p. 26. However, the date of Mir Sayyid Ali's arrival to Kashmir is controversial, as some historians' claims that he came to Kashmir only once, few other claims that he came to Kashmir thrice. Since Sayyid Ali in his *"Tarikh-i-Kashmir"* writes the date of Mir Sayyid Ali's arrival is A.H. 786/ A.D. 1384-85, based on written record of the Sayyid Muhammad Kawari's as therefore, it can be claimed that Mir Sayyid Ali came to Kashmir only once.
4. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit. p. 46.
5. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir*, op. cit., p. 19. However the village "Chittar" now comes under the area of district Anantnag.
6. Ibid., pp. 14-15. Kulab is a place in Khattlan, it covers a distance of nine days period journey from Kunar, now this Khattlan is in the Republic of Tajkistan. But Jafar Badakshi in his work *"Khulasatu'l Manaqib"*on page 580 gives the burial date of Mir Sayyid Ali as 25 *Jumad-ul Auwal,* 787 A.H./ 14 July, 1385 which is more reliable because he was contemporary to Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani and also attended his funeral prayer.

months later on 5 *Jamad-ul Awal*, A.H. 787/ 1385 A.D. Mir Sayyid Ali's dead body was taken to Kattlan and was buried there.[1]

Mir Sayyid Ali's successors in Kashmir:

Sayyid Muhammad Kazim generally called as Sayyid Qazi was the librarian of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. While travelling towards Kashmir with Hamdani he reached at Latapora, there he was asked by Sayyid Ali Hamdani to settle there at Latapora and preach the gospel of Islam there.[2] Another remarkable follower of Sayyid Ali was Sayyid Muhammad Balkhi, also called Pir Haji Muhammad Qari, who was a sound scholar of Islamic theology. He was a famous because of his strong hold on the recitation (*qirat*) of the *Holy Qur'an* with the prescribed rules. He was close to Sultan Qut-ud-Din, who built for him a *khanqah* with some grants of villages for the maintenance of the *Langar* (alms house) at the *khanqah*. This *langar* was open to all people. Even today this place is called Langarhatta after the name of this *langarkhana.*[3] Hazrat Pir Muhammad Qari built several mosques and *khanqahs* at several places in Kashmir so that Islamic rituals and could be practiced *Shariat-i-Muhammadi* can be introduced to all over Kashmir. At last on 8 *Rajab*, 792 / 22 June, A.D. 1390, he passed away from this world, an interesting episode about him is believed that people after attending his funeral prayer in the lawn of the *khanqah-mohalla* tried to carry his coffin but they could not carry, they were surprised, and confused what to do. Immediately the coffin took flight into the air, then it came down at the Langarhatta. In this way the people became aware about his miraculous spiritual power and they buried his dead body with great regard at Langarhata.[4]

Another notable disciple was Sayyid Ahmad Kushkhawan who was the son of Shaikh Suleiman, who in very young age benefited from the company of his father as well as of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. When Sayyid Ali left Kashmir for Kulab, he appointed Shaikh Ahmad Kushkhwani as his *khalifa* there in Kashmir and because of his famousness many people benefited from Shaikh Ahmad. Thus, he was a good reciter (*Qari*) of the *Holy Qur'an* hence he got the title of the "Kushkhawan". After his death he was buried near the *mazar* (grave-yard) of his father, in front of the

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1. *Shajra-i-Saddat Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu), op. cit., pp. 14-15.
2. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir*, op. cit., p. 20.
3. Ibid., p. 21.
4. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. I, op. cit., p. 74

mazar of Sayyid Muhammad Loraristani close to the Jama Masjid in Srinagar.[1] Another person Shaikh Fathullah son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad Kushkhawan was not only Sufi but he was also an Aalim-i-Din of the period.[2] Ibrahim Adham was one of the famous disciples of Shaikh Ahmad Kushkhawan. He belonged to the Bulkh on the other hand he travelled to the various Muslim countries of the world. In Kashmir, he came during the reign of Sultan Sikandar and in this way he became a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Kushkhuwan.[3] Ibrahim Adham was a remarkable scholar and he also wrote a treatise on Sufism called *"Maqamat-i-Auliya"* but unfortunately now it is not available. He breathed his last on A.D 1437 and is buried in Srinagar.[4] His son Shaikh Ismail was a well known Kubravi Sufi and after the death of his father Shaikh Fathehullah, succeeded him as his spiritual heir. Shaikh Ismail is regarded as one of the great *alim* and *shaikh* of his period. In his *khanqah* at Koh-i-maran in Srinagar, the scholars and the *ulama* not only from Kashmir but also from faraway places like Kabul, Hindustan, Mahwar-un-Nahir, and Herat, paid visits for learning and with the purpose to get spiritually benefited from him. There was a free boarding and lodging arrangement for the students in his seminary cum library, and for its upleftment some *jagirs* were also granted by the Sultan Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah.[5] As Shaikh Ismail a well known religious man of Kubravi Sufi order, Sultan Hasan Shah appointed him the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of Kashmir. But during his last days Shaikh Ismail appointed Baba Ali Najar as his *khalifa*.[6] Baba Ismail died on 12 *Rabi-ul-Awal* A.H. 911/ 19 June A.D. 1506 and is buried near his own *khanqah* just opposite to the *astan* of Shaikh Bahaud-Din Ganj-Baksh.[7] During this period one Shmas-ud-Din Iraqi arrived in Kashmir, and Baba Ali Najar came under his influence and also entered into the Shia-ism. With the result the responsibilities of the maintenance of the *khanqah* now fell on the shoulders of Shaikh Ismail's son viz another Shaikh Fathehullah. It was during this time, that *Shia-Suni* conflict in the Valley of Kashmir took place. As Shaikh Fatehullah was a Sunni, and Kaji Chak was an orthodox Shia, and was the *wazir* (minister) of Sultan Muhammad Shah 1517-28 A.D., he

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* , (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shms-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 68.
2. *Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi Shaksiat-o-fun,* op. cit., p. 182.
3. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir,* op. cit., p. 138.
4. Ibid., p. 138. ; Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., p. 41.
5. *Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi Shaksiat-o-fun,* op. cit., p. 183.
6. Ibid.
7. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., p. 50.

confiscated Shah Fathehulla's propriety and hence Shah Fathehulla compelled him to immigrate to Sialkot where he spent his remaining life. Thus the chain of the Kubravi order in Kashmir started with the arrival of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, flourished up to the 16th Century now came to an end. As the *khanqah* and the *langar* started by Shaikh Ismail now stopped.[1] Besides these, another prominent Kubravi Sufi saint was Mir Muhammad Hamdani, who was the son and successor of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. He arrived in Kashmir in A.H. 796 / A.D. 1393 and at that time he was only 20 years old. During the rule of the Sultan Sikandar (1398 -1413 A.D) the sultan was very much impressed by the Mir Muhammad Hamadani and became his *murid*. It is said that a well known Kashmiri Rishi of that period named Shaikh Nooru'd-Din Wali when heard about his arrival in Kashmir, called him "*Koshrun Pir Aow*" which means that for the Kashmir's their *pir* (religious preceptor) had come.[2]

Sultan Sikandar had built a beautiful *khanqah* on the behest of Mir Muhammad Hamadani at the place where earlier Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani had stayed in Srinagar. It is said that Mir Muhammad Hamadani had a precious Badakshani diamond and he presented it as a relic (*tabruk*) to the Sultan Sikandar. Hence in return to it Sultan granted three villages from the three pragana's, viz Vichi, Nuna and Tral were granted for the maintenance of the *khanqah.* Many *khanqahs* at various other places were also built. The Sultan also built a garden at Karalpora for the pleasure of the Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani and which later became a tourist place for the people. Mir Muhammad Hamadani also travelled towards Tibet including Chak, and also constructed many *khanqahs* at Shahgarh in Baltistan and at Leh in Ladakh, before he returned towards Kashmir and continued his work.[3] Hasan Khuwami is of the opinion, that Mir Muhammad Hamadani came to Kashmir at the age of 22 years along with six hundred followers including attendants, and Sultan Sikandar welcomed all of them. Suha Bhatt, who was the Chief Minister of the Sultan, also accepted Islam by the influence of Mir Muhammad Hamadani, and was named Malik Saifu'd-Din. His daughter 'Bara' was married to Mir Muhammad Hamadani.[4] Sultan Sikandar became so devoted to Mir Muhammad Hamadani that he he adopted many steps to raise moral and ethical values amongst the masses.

1. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir,* op. cit., p. 148.
2. Ibid., pp. 23-24.
3. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. I, op. cit., p. 96.
4. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 72.

Therefore, wine selling, music, dancing of women, gambling, sati system and corruption, all these unlawful practices were prohibited by the Sultan Sikandar during his rule which continued up to his next 26 years.[1]

Baihaqi Sayyids:

Baihaqi were Sayyids who came from Baihaq (a city of Iran) and their link also with the Kubravi order. Sayyid Taju'd-Din Baihaqi is accepted as their head Sufi by a class of Sayyids. Sayyid Taju'd-Din had two sons called Sayyid Muhammad and Nuru'd-Din.[2] Sayyid Muhammad Bahaiqi who was the son of Sayyid Taju'd-Din and uncle of Sayyid Husain Mantaqi had come to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar and settled in a village Kandahama in *pargana* Biru.[3] Sayyid Muhammad Bahaiqi's daughter was married to the son of Sultan Sikandar named Zain-ul-Abidin who later on, was generally called Bud-Shah.[4]

Besides the penetration of Suhrawardi and the Kubravi orders in the Valley the other two remarkable Sufi orders which made an impact on the socio-cultural and religious life of the people were the Naqashbandi and the Qadiri orders, though they were introduced very early in the state but got much fame later on during early stage of 17th Century.[5]

Naqashbandi Order:

It is well known fact that, almost all the Sufi orders trace their origin to the fourth caliph 'Ali, but the Naqashbandis trace their origin from the first caliph Abu Bakr, though the spiritual lineage (*shajra*) of Naqashbandi's also traces their origin to Hazrat Ali. However it is one of the earliest Sufi orders, which flourished first amongst the Turks in Central Asia beyond the Amu Darya and further the order, got reputed by Bahaud-Din Muhammad Naqashband (A.H. 717-791 / A.D. 1317-1389).[6] The followers of the Naqashbandi order claim that the principles adopted by them are

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1. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), op. cit., p. 38.
2. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir*, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
3. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol. III, (Urdu tr), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir*, Part. I, op. cit., p. 122.
4. Ibid., p. 122. Here it becomes clear that these Bahaiqi Sayyids made good relations with the elite class of Kashmir and they even made matrimonial relations with the ruling class of Kashmir so that Islam may flourish swiftly in the Valley.
5. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. 147.
6. Ibid., p. 147.

the short cut and the simple way to reach to God and get the high status. According to the tenants of the Naqashbandi order, one should first perform certain duties ordered by his own Shaikh (preceptor) who had the complete knowledge and command of the silsila. However, there are eleven principles which a Naqashbandi follower required to observe. They are:

(i) *Hosh dar dam* (awareness while breathing) (ii) *Nazar bar qadam* (watching the steps) (iii) *Safar dar watan* (journey to one's homeland i.e., journey from human to angelic stages-vice to virtue) (iv) *Khilwat dar anjuman* (ability to enjoy solitude even while in an assembly) (v) *Yad kar* (remember i.e., *zikr*) (vi) *Baz gasht* (restraint) (vii) *Nigah dasht* (be watchful) (viii) *Yad dasht* (recollect) (ix) *Waquf-i-zamani* (temporal pause-self examination) (x) *Waquf-i-adadi* (numbering pause-counting the number of times *zikr* is repeated) and (xi) *Waquf-i-qalbi* (heart pause-during the *zikr*. The heart of flesh should be in no way negligent. The other two important principles are *repentance* and *zikr* of the Naqashbandi order.[1]

During the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413 A.D.), Sayyid Hilal came to Kashmir and introduced the Naqashbandi silsila in this region. Although some consider him as the Kubravi Sufi saint, but most of the people consider him as the Naqashbandi Sufi and they are of the view that his connection is direct with Khwaja Bahaud-Din Naqashband.[2] It is also claimed that he by the influence of Mir Muhammad Kubravi entered in the Kubravi order. And after his death in 14 *Rabi'l-Auwal*, A.H. 861 / (February A.D. 1457 he is buried in a village called 'Asham' which is a large village in the *pargana* Payin (North of Kashmir), where his shrine is located on the south bank of the lake Mansbal at a high altitude and where in every year, an exhibition on the death anniversary of the saint is held.[3]

Hazrat Baba Mir Muhammad Amin Awaisi was the only disciple of Sayyid Hilal. Sayyid Muhammad Amin Mantaqi Baihaqi Alias Mir Awaisi was the son of

1. Ibid., pp. 147-48.
2. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), Dr.Shms-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 89. Khwaja Bahaud-Din Naqashband was great Naqashbandi Sufi born in A.H. 718 / A.D 1318-1319 and died in A.H. 791/ A.D 1388-1389. He was born in a village named Qasar Arfan a few miles distant from Bukhara. His hereditary genealogy reaches to Hazrat Abu Bakar Sadiqi the first caliph after the passing away of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).
3. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir*, Part. I, op. cit., pp. 144-45.

Husain Baihaqi.[1] Sayyid Amin was adopted as a son by Bahaiqi Begum, the wife of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. Besides it, Sayyid Amin Awaisi was also an excellent poet. When Sayyid Amin became young, the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin thought to appoint him on some post to run the administration. And got experience but after completing his education Mir Awaisi came in contact of Kwaja Hilal Naqashbandi, and became his disciple in his company reached to the highest stages of the *Tasawwuf*. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin then built a *khanqah* at a village Asham a city in the Baramullah, for Mir Muhammad Amin where he meditated for a long time. After it Mir Muhammad Amin founded a garden at Koh-i-Maran, on Hariparbat and took meditation there.[2] As later on he lived at Alikadal where it was the residential place of his father and there was also a *masafar khana* where he continued the mystique exercises and other Sufi practices. He is also buried there in the Ali Kadadal.[3]

Meanwhile during this period there appeared a controversy among the Kashmiri nobles and the Bahaihaqi Sayyids and an armed fight took place between the two. The Kashmiri nobles made a surprise attack on the Baihaqi Sayyids. On 30 *Ziqada* A.H. 889 / 8 December A.D. 1484 and many people from both the sides were killed in this battle including Mir Waisi Baba who too was martyred.[4]

Sayyid Amin Waisi had no disciple of repute; therefore, the Naqashbandis remained unknown for about hundred years in Kashmir. But later on during the closing years of the 16th century Khwaja Khawand Mahmud came to Kashmir. He re-established Naqashbandi order in the Valley.[5] The Khwaja was a disciple of Khwaja Abu Ishaq Safedki who in turn received inspiration directly from Khwaja Bahaud-ud-Din Naqashband.[6] Khwaja Khawand migrated from Wakhsh (a city in Tajikistan) to Kabul, and from there he visited many countries, then he arrived in Kashmir, and after short stay there he went to Agra.[7] Then Khwaja Khawand Mahmud made many visits

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), Dr.Shms-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 89-90.
2. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. I, op. cit., pp. 129-31. Now this garden is called as "Mir Wari" that is 'Bag-i-Mir' which means the garden built by Mir Muhammadd Amin Waisi.
3. Ibid., p. 124.
4. *Shajra-i-Saddat Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), op. cit., p. 51.
5. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., pp. 152-3
6. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 183
7. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., pp. 152-3. He was at Wakhsh in 994 / 1585-86 and after staying there for some years he went to Kabul and then to Kashmir.

to Kashmir during the 17th century and in this way Naqashbandi order swiftly flourished in the Valley of Kashmir.[1]

Rishi order

It was during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (the fifteenth century A.D.) the Rishi order emerged in Kashmir. The founder and head of the Rishi movement in Kashmir was Shaikh Noor-ud-din[RA] who was the son of Shaikh Salaru'd-Din who was a noble man and was among the rulers of the Kishtwar. Noor-ud-Din was born in a village called 'Kaimu' at a distance of two miles from Bijbehara in A.H. 779 / A.D. 1377. His ascetic life was much more influenced by the Hindu Sadhus. Unlike other Sufis like Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani and others he lived a life of retirement. He gave up the worldly desires, and made his way and direction to the caves for meditation and mystic practices. He even left his wife and children and did not eat meat.[2] He got the divine guidance at the age of thirty. Rishi is a term applied for a person who comes in the circle of true ascetic (meditation) or who performs rigid mystical exercise, he should be *Tark-i-Dunyan* (renounce of the world), free from all the worldly desires, including family. For 12 years, Noor-ud-din[RA] lived in isolation in the mountainous caves. About 26 years, he never even touched the corn and bread. He focused on the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, and many times he met Hazrat Mir Muhammad Hamadani who was well aware of his greatness, therefore always appreciated him. He was also having very good friendship with Sayyid Hussain Samani, rather also got benefited from him. He also remained in touch with, Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ud-din, Shaikh Sultan Pakhli and Baba Haji Adham who were his contemporaries.[3]

Diddamari had quoted the date of birth and death of Noor-ud-din from '*Asrar-rul Ab-rar'*. According to him he was born in 757 A.H. / 1356 A.D and died in 808 A.H. / 1405-6 A.D. But in fact, he died in 842 A.H. / 1438-9 A.D. Though few scholars are of the opinion, at that time of his death, he was about 63 years old. During his last breath one of his (*murides*) disciples Sadiq Baba Nasur-ud-din asked about his last desire. The reply was only, "*Haq* (God, Truth)". Then he again asked do

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1. Ibid.
2. *Waqqia-ti-Kashmir (Tarikh-i-Kashmir Uzma)*, (Urdu tr.), Dr. Khwaja Hameed Yazdani, op. cit., p. 133
3. Ibid., pp. 131-32.

you have any drink or juice etc., Noor-ud-din replied, "throughout my life I give up it for the sake of *Haq*." Then he left the world.[1] Other prominent Rishis of the period of Zain-ul-Abidin were Hazrat Baba Zainu-ud-din, Hazrat Baba Bamu-ud-din, Hazrat Baba Latif-ud-din, Hazrat Baba Nasru-ud-din, Hazrat Baba Qiyamu-ud-din, Baba Aojib Ganai and Hafifz Fatehullah Hush Hawan who spread the Rishi order in the Valley.[2]

Later on Noor-ud-din survived only on a cup of milk and in the last days he also gave up this and took only water for 21/22 years and for 26 years he never touched bread and corn.[3] After death his dead body is buried at Chrar which is at a distance of twenty miles south of Srinagar. A large number of people from all the communities came to the shrine every year.[4]

Moreover after the death of Noor-ud-din a class of Rishis was flourished in Kashmir and these Rishis were the Muslim *faqirs* and they had renounced the world. Although they were not having much knowledge about the religion yet they lived a simple and pious life. They did not use the vulgar words and escape themselves from the worldly desires and did not eat flesh and also did not marry and they plant trees for the benefit of the people. During the Mughal period especially in the reign of Akbar and Jahangir these Rishis were 2000 in number.[5]

The credit of spreading Islam in Kashmir goes to the Sufis. They demolished almost all the social inequalities and acted as a bridge between rich and poor. Hence in the *zikr* gatherings all the classes gathered together irrespective of low and high born, poor and wealthy. The Sufis always raised their voice against injustice, exploitation and inequality. Even Noor-ud-din once took an officer to task for exploiting the workers of a village. Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani also used to say to the rulers that they should behave with the subjects with justice. According to him, just

1. Ibid., p. 132.
2. Ibid., p. 133.
3. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shms-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 103-4.
4. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, (ed.), H.N. Rafiabadi, Srinagar, 2002, p. 363. A Durani Afghan Governor named Ata Muhammad Khan mint coins during the beginning of the 19th Century in the name of Shaikh-Noor-ud-din.
5. Jahagir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (Memoirs of Jahangir)*, (tr.) Alexander Rogers (ed.), by Henry Beveridge, Vol. ii, Delhi, Rep., 1994, pp. 149-50.

ruler, would be nearest to God on the Day of Judgment. And on the other hand, severe punishment would be given to the tyrant rulers.[1]

"The Sufis also played the role of social reformers. Thus it was under the influence of Sayyid Muhammad Hamdani, that Sultan Sikandar banned all intoxicants, Sati, and other evil practices. Makhdum Hamza called upon the people to lead a virtuous life, pay the religious taxes, and acquire knowledge. He was once so angry with a drunkard that he hit him on the head with a stick which caused his death."[2]

Hazrat Baba Zainu-ud-din:

He was from Kishtwar region of the Kashmir Valley. His real name was Zia Singh, and on a heavenly hint he came to Kashmir met Baba Bamu-ud-din who has already got famous because of his closeness of Shaikh Noor-ud-din. After conversion to Islam on the orders of Hazrat Shaikh he got spent time in the cave of Ash, where it is believed that Gants and ghosts lived there. There he took the path of self-denial. As there was water scarcity in that area, on the request of Shaikh Shms-ud-din he appeared in front of the Baba Bam-ud-din where they got the good news that the water is under a tree, which was opened in form of stream of water. Because of the unhappiness of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, Babab Zainu-ud-din under heavy snow went to the Tibet, where he gave life to a dead one. When Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin became ill, he requested Baba Zainu-ud-din to return back to Kashmir, which he did and even after the emperors recovery he stayed there at his own fixed place. At the time of his death he after bath and covering his dead body, with coffin it should kept and they should wait. But after looking the coffin there was nothing in it. His followers and devotees grieve over it, but in a dream he ordered that instead of coffin perfect the place of grave. His *khulfas* and followers according to the divinely direction they in the campus of the graves took in account it (the grave) at the place just opposite the coffin where it was placed.[3]

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1. *Kashmir under the Sultans*, (ed.), H.N. Rafiabadi, op. cit., pp. 363-64.
2. Ibid., p. 364.
3. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir (Tarikh-i-Kashmir Uzma)*, (Urdu tr.), Dr. Khwaja Hameed Yazdani, op. cit., pp. 133-34.

Hazrat Baba Bamu-ud-din:

By birth he was a Brahman. And his real name was Buma Sadi. He came in to contact then Hazrat Shaikh Noor-ud-din and after conversation, Buma Sadi showed his spiritual power by flying in the air. To this the Shaikh pointed towards his shoes and which also fled along with the spirit of the Buma Sadi. Buma sadi looked all this, and thus he realized the fact of Islam and spiritual power of Shaikh and he accepted Islam. After accepting Islam his name was changed as Baba Bamu-ud-din. He remained busy in the meditation *(zikr)* till his last days. After becoming Muslim he lived for twelve years, always remained with fast (*Rosa*). When the time of his death arrived he told that he had been promised by Baba Zainu-ud-din for his last rites but the Zainu-ud-din is in the Tibet, so he stopped his breath Bab Zainu-ud-din appeared and Baba Bamu-ud-din left this mortal world.[1]

Hazrat Baba Latifu-ud-din:

He too was from ruling Hindu dynasty of Marduwadan and his early name was Ladi Raina. Shaikh-ul-Mashaikh Shaikh Noor-ud-din called him by the name of Latif-ud-din. The story of his conversion is very interesting. The Shaikh before accepting his friendship asked Ladi Raina to obey the *Farman Haq*. The later asked what is *Farman Haq?* The Shaikh replied that he should become a Muslim and obey his real Creator. Ladi Rina replied that he can't become Muslim as he obeys his own lord. Then the Shaikh enquired who is your lord ? He replied *Sanam* (idol). Shaikh said that you are taking food from *Samad* (God) and worshiping for *Sanam* (idol), hearing this Ladi Rina fall down and became unconscious when he recovered to his senses, he at-once accepted Islam. He then lifting the worldly leadership and family life fully dedicated in mystical practices. Once his attendant brought a wild vegetable (*Apil Sag*) having bitter taste, for the Baba Latif-ud-din, when he tried to boil it, Baba heard the weeping voice of the vegetable claiming that why it has been put on the fire although he too is creation, reciting the name of Allah. On this situation Baba also started weeping and asked the attendant that he should boil only dry *sag* (vegetable), instead of green wild vegetable. As more and more people coming to him, therefore

1. Ibid., p. 134.

Baba settled at a remote village of Pushkar in the district Budgam and finally was buried there.[1]

Hazrat Baba Nasru-ud-din:

At a very young age that he became ill, and could not digest food and vomiting always continued. His parents become worried about him. But once he saw in a dream a band of people, among these there was a *pir* wearing a thick cloth, Baba Nasru-ud-din asked who these people are? The reply was that it is a group of Abdalas and on further enquiries about an old man, it was reported that he is Shaikh Noor-ud-din, who lived at Kimu, and that the Shaikh can treat his disease. His parents took him to Shaikh Noor-ud-din for treatment, but when he appeared in front of the Shaikh, who asked him (Nasru-ud-din), why your face has turned yellow. He was informed about his disease then again Shaikh asked that what is his name, he replied Nasur and is titled with Rao-tar (meaning in Kashmir athlete or a brave man). Shaikh enquired that can you show any time your bravery by fight. Nasur replied I can fight with an old *pir*. Then Shaikh offered food to him and he ate the food which digested normally without any problem. Then Nasur asked to his parents to go back and that he got his doctor ie., Shaikh Noor-ud-din. Though after the prohibition from his parents even though he spent his entire life along with his *pir* Shaikh Noor-ud-din and never isolated from him. Thus with more and more mystical practices he became one of the faithful disciples of his *pir*.[2]

Hazrat Baba Qiyamu-ud-din:

He is among the great *murides* of Hazrat Shaikh Noor-ud-din. On behalf of the orders of the Shaikh Noor-ud-din he lived in a village Manzgam of *pargana* Diyusar, a pleasant and lonely place. Here he involved in ascetic and mystical practices. He used to take the wild grass as a food. Because of which only skin and bones were visible on his face. There was a spring and the trees that were faded (dried), these trees with the God's blessings again became green. Baba Qiyamu-ud-din was buried at that place.[3]

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1. Ibid., pp. 134-35.
2. Ibid., pp. 135-36.
3. Ibid., p. 136.

Baba Usman Oujib Ganayi:

He was a respectable person and belonged to a pious and eminent family. After acquiring knowledge, his interest in the quest of God, increased therefore he felt need of a preceptor (*murshid*). For this purpose he travelled towards Mecca and Medina, where he met Shaikh Ishaq Shuttari who told him about virtues of Shaikh Bahau-ud-din Ganj Baksh. Soon, after performing *Hajj* he returned towards Kashmir met the Shaikh and become his disciple. In this way he accepted the path of truth. After his death he is buried just opposite of the tomb of the Mirza Haidar Kashgari, in the graveyard of the Sultans of Kashmir.[1]

Hafiz Fateh-e-Hullah Hush Huwan:

He was the *khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad Hush Huwan. He was from the very young age enlightened from the God's light and mercy. He received all the knowledge of science and *Qur'an* and adorned the *sanad* of his ancestors. Besides the *Ilem-i-tarikat* he was having a good command over the *Ilem-i-marafat-wa-Tasawwuf*. It is said by him that, "People says that someone goes away from God, but it is *kufer* (unbelief) only, nothing goes away from God."[2]

Other prominent Sufis of Kashmir:

Hazrat Sayyid Bar-hur-dar:

He belonged to the excellent Sayyid Dynasty. He was having great stage in both extrinsic and intrinsic qualities. And he was decorated with the closeness of God's manifestation and powerful sentiments. When he entered Kashmir he settled at Mohalla Danda Mazar which is situated at the end of this populated city. This place was exquisite with the blessings of God. After living a long life and he passed away from this world, the ruler of that period built a *khanqah* for his attendants. This *khanqah* was collapsed in an accident later on in the reign of Chaks it was rebuild and that *khanqah* is still in its same condition and situation. And the tomb of the Hazrat

1. Ibid., pp. 136-37.
2. Ibid., p. 137.

Sayyid is near the *khanqah* that is the centre of the God's good influence, and the blessings and is the *ziayarat gah* for those who hymn supplicate to God.[1]

Shaikh Shms-ud-din Baghdadi:

He came to Kashmir in the period of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, and he settled at Zainapura which was not yet built at that time. Its cause was the attractive atmosphere and a pleasant air. His kitchen was full of abundance prosperity and spacious. Once he called Maulana Khaki who was an important attendant of the Shaikh to bring salt for the preparation of the *Deghdan.* Khaki at that time living the spot reached Ratna and a sack of salt keeping on his shoulders arrived at Pir Panchal. Because of the heavy rain and water he could not cross the path. In this way certainly Shaikh appeared there by spiritual power and he crossed the Khaki through the water. Yet the cooking *Deghdan* was not ready Khaki brought the salt. The distance of about ten to twelve days he covered it and returned in the twinkling of an eye. In this way he in spiritual, mystical and devotion faith created a surprising noise. Shaikh was a well natured and a great man. When he passed away from this world he is buried in Zainapura near his *murids* and followers.[2]

Sayyid Jafar:

He was among the great once of the Sayyids and was having a high stage. He was much desired to lead a retired life. He never put his attention other then Allah. When passed away from this world, was buried in the village Rawalpora about two miles outside the city. His tomb is the *ziarat-gah* of all type of people. In the village Krand of *pargana* Parwa there is also house of them, but it will be for the spiritual and physical purposes. His grave is existed in the Rawalpora.[3]

Nobility:

Nobles were the heads of the various tribes and the families like Chaks, Magres, Rainas Daras and Batas and after the Sultan and his family the next position get the nobles. They were assigned jagirs and high posts in the government services in

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1. Ibid., p. 142.
2. Ibid., pp. 142-43.
3. Ibid., p. 143.

the Sultanate period. But the jagirs assigned to them were hereditary, only in case of disloyalty their jagirs were confiscated.[1]

Hence during the Sultanate period the families which played a key role were belonged to both foreign and indigenous origin. In the reign of Suha Deva Chaks entered Kashmir while as during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Baihaqi Sayyids penetrated in the valley of Kashmir. The other families like Rainas, Magres, and Daras etc., were of the indigenous origin. Hence except Rainas the other families got prominence only during the Muslim period.[2]

The Religious Class:

The next to the nobles were of religious class *like* Ulama, the Sayyids and the Sufis got prominence in the Kashmiri society during the Sultanate period.[3]

Ulama:

The ulama were highly regarded in the Muslim countries including Kashmir. In Kashmir some of them were appointed as the *Qazis*, *Muftis* and *Shaikh-ul-Islams.* Though they lived simple and pious life and they were against the innovations in the religion of Islam. They took the solution of every social and religious problem in the light of *Shriat.* They even sometimes played an active role in the politics of that time.[4]

Sayyids:

During the 14th Century a large number of Sayyids from Central Asia and Persia migrated towards Kashmir in order to secure them from the havoc made by the Mongols and of Timur. They felt peace and social conditions favourable in the Valley which attracted them to Kashmir. One more thing that made their arrival successful was the patronage shown by the Sultans of Kashmir to them. Therefore the process of penetration of Sayyids in the Valley continued up to the fall of the Sultanate period.[5] The Sayyids were also respected by the kings and nobles though they came from outside Kashmir even they were recruited as the *Qazis* and *Muftis* by the Sultans of

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1. (Ed.), H.N. Rafiabadi, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, op. cit., p. 357.
2. Ibid., p. 358.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 259.
5. Ibid., p. 360.

Kashmir and many of them were appointed as teachers at different *madrasas* for the teaching of students. They also performed religious duties as religious preceptors i.e., *pirs* for the guidance of the (*murids*) people. Therefore, few of the Sayyids adopted agriculture as their profession. Another class of the Sayyids called Bhaiqi Sayyids they participated in the politics. They even made matrimonial relations with the elite class of Kashmir and ultimately they too reached to the ranks of Kashmiri nobles. In this way these Sayyids played a key role in the Socio-political life of the Kashmiri people in the Sultanate period.[1]

Sufis:

Sufis played a crucial role and laid a great impact on social, religious and cultural life of the country as compared to the Ulama. They were highly regarded by all the groups of the people because of their simplicity and piousness and learning and miraculous powers. They did not give up the worldly affairs and they too had children and wives. As the Sayyid Ali Hamadani, the Kubravi Sufi saint rightly gives stress on the Muslims that they should spent their lives within the circle of Islam but they should not extend themselves like Hindu *sadhus* or Muslim *faqirs*. Sayyid Ali also emphases up on to live a meaningful and balanced life rather than cutting of some one's nose, eyes and feet.[2]

The Sufis or *pirs* lived in the *khaqahs* in the Valley of Kashmir which were similar to the *khanqahs* prevailed in India, Persia and Turkistan. Mostly these *khaqahs* were constructed by the Sultans and nobles for the Sufi saints and for their families and followers. In these *khanqahs* the followers of these Sufis learn mystic practices and also worship there in it.[3]

"There was a simple initiation ceremony in which the disciple pledged devotion. After this he lived in close association with his *pir* until he reached the higher stages of initiation when he might go out to teach his master's way *(tariqa)* and make new disciples."[4]

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1. Ibid., pp. 360-61.
2. Ibid., p. 361.
3. Ibi d., p. 361.
4 . Ibid., p. 362.

Hence in Kashmir the *pir* was regarded by his disciple as the deputy of God and the Prophet (SAW) and he submits himself before his preceptor whole heartedly. Therefore, after the death of the *pir* he was succeeded by one of his disciple having high spiritual, intellectual and moral status. But sometimes there remained hereditary succession and the *khanqah* also had Imams or religious leader to lead the prayers.[1]

The main six Sufi orders prevailed in Medieval Kashmir are: ***Qadiriyyah, Suhrawardiyyah, Kubraviyyah, Naqashbandiyyah, Nurbakshiyyah*** and ***Rishi order.*** However, except *Rishi order,* remaining all the other five orders introduced from Persia and Turkistan to Kashmir. The only order that was indigenous was the *Rishi order.*[2]

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 362. Rishi is a Sanskrit term which means a saint, a sage or an ascetic. It is a general perception of the local tradition that the founder of the Rishi order is the Khwaja Uways who was the contemporary of the Prophet PBUH. He lived in Yemen but he never saw the Prophet S.A.W., yet he had direct spiritual approach to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH.

CHAPTER- IV

Organization and Position of the main Sufi Orders in Jammu & Kashmir during the 16th -18th Century A.D.

Kashmir is the place where a number of Sufis found it suitable for the Sufi mission right from the 14th century onwards. However, the period of the 16th century is a very crucial period when different Sufis of various major silsilas including the unique local Rishi order, (not found anywhere in Indian subcontinent) were actively working in the Valley. Before the arrival of new Sufi orders from the 16th century, there were some Sufi orders already existing which had penetrated into Kashmir during the different periods of time. Therefore, following were the some reputed Sufi orders and Sufis who served the people by their simplicity and spiritual greatness.

Qadiri order.

Shaikh Abdul-Qadir Jilani also called as the *Ghausu'l-A'zam* (A.H. 471-561/ A.D. 1078-1165) (greatest among the saints) of Baghdad was the founder of the Qadiri order. Besides a remarkable Sufi, he was also a great scholar and an excellent writer. Hence the doctrines and practices of Qadiri order are explained in the works of the Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. Rafiqi is of the view that Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani's writings reflect him as a "sober preacher", and his confidence speaks of his balanced life based on self help, quest for the right path. He stressed his followers that: "he should keep the commandments of Allah, he should abstain from the forbidden things, and he should be pleased with the decrees of providence."[1]

Sayyid Naimatullah Shah Qadiri.

The Qadiri order in the Valley of Kashmir was first introduced in the IInd half of the 16th century by Sayyid Naimatullah Shah Qadiri, who arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Chak dynasty i.e. (1561-1586 AD). He was the direct descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani,[2] and during the reign of Shahjahan, he migrated from Punjab to Kashmir. In Punjab, he became a *murid* of Shaikh Muhammad *Darwish*. On

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1. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. 153.
2. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 51.

his arrival to Kashmir, he first met to Hajji Baba Qadiri.[1] He avoided the company of the ruling elite and spent most of his time in *Sama.* He lived in Kashmir for a short period and then returned towards India.[2]

One of his disciples Shaikh Mirak Mir, at first began to practice Sufism independently, but after the arrival of Sayyid Naimatullah Shah Qadiri in Kashmir, Mirak became his disciple.[3] Mirak was the son of Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Andrabi. His ancestors had migrated to Kashmir from Andrab during the reign of Sultan Skindar of Kashmir.[4] Shaikh Mirak Mir was a great spiritual figure and people got benefited from him, passing away on 5 Safar, 990/ 1st March 1582, and he was buried at Mallarata in Srinagar. He was succeeded by his son Usman Qadiri.[5]

Haja Bab-i-Qadiri.

He belonged to the rich family of merchant class called Katju. He learned the Qadiri practices from Hazrat Shah Naimatullah Qadiri. He after performing religious meditation, asceticism and servicing his *Pir*, he got *Khilafat* from Shah Naimatullah Qadiri. He was a great lover of Prophet (SAW) and strictly followed *Sunnat-i-Nabi* (PBUH). When he was sixty years old, his mother passed away from this world, after that he directly went to Mecca for the pilgrimage and lived there for some period and continued *Ibadah* and mystic practices there. After some time, in a dream on the orders of the Prophet (PBUH) he returned back to Kashmir, where to follow the *Sunnah,* he married, and a son was also born to him whom he named Usman. He continued the process of preaching Islam and *tasawwuf* and avoided from *bidet* (innovations in *Shriat*). He died on 14 of *Shahban,* A.H 1066/ AD 1655-1656 and was buried in the Bul-bul Langer adjacent to the grave of Hazarat Bul-bul Shah.[6]

Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri (d.1613 A.D).

Another well known Qadiri Sufi was Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri (d.1613 AD) a descendant of Shaikh Bahaud-Din Zakriyya. He travelled widely, also performed *Hajj*

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1. *Kasmiri Sufism,* op. cit., PP. 246-47
2. Ibid., p. 246
3. *Sufism in Kashmir (fourteen to sixteen Century),* op. cit., p. 155
4. Ibid., p.247
5. *Kasmiri Sufism,* op. cit., p. 248
6. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Auliya-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., pp. 284-86. See also Azim *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams- ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 237-38.

to Mecca before settling in Lahore, where he was initiated in to the Qadiria order by Shaikh Muhammad. Shaikh Ahmad was invited by a famous Kashmiri Sufi Baba Dawud Khaki to settle in Kashmir.[1]

Before his accession to the throne, Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri blessed a Shia ruler Ghazi Shah Chak (1561-63), who after his success tried to offer some presents to Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri, which made him angry and that he died in Srinagar in the Qutb-ud-Dinpura.[2]

Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri had a son named Hajji Musa who was such an ascetic that he accepted the way towards the forests of Punjab and Kashmir.[3]

Baba Dawud Khaki a saint of Suharawardi order was very much influenced by spiritual and piousness of Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri. Though he was a great scholar, a poet and a writer, but was famous for visiting the tombs of his spiritual masters and various Suhrawardiyyah saints of Multan. He had also compiled the biographies of various Sufi saints of Kashmir. However, under the influence of Shaikh Ahmad, he became a Qadiri and joined the circle of Qadiri order.[4]

Baba Dawud's disciple, Mir Nazuk was strictly opposed to *Sama.* He remained in recluse, disallowing visitors. He died at Srinagar in 1022/ 1613-14. After the death of Yusuf Qadiri, his son became successor of Mir Nazuk, the responsibility for guiding the Qadiriyyah khanqah was later on taken by Mir Muhammad Ali Qadiri, who was the youngest son of Mir Nazuk.[5]

During the period of Mir Muhammad Ali Qadiri, in the Qadiriyyah order, local crisis occurred due to the famousness of Mullah Shah. Mullah Shah used to spend his summers in Kashmir. The *Zikr-i-Jahar* (loud recitation) performed by the *Pir* or by his followers had become the main reasons for the attraction of the people towards Mir Muhammad Ali Qadiri in Srinagar.[6]

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1. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 69-70
2. Ibid., p. 70
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp.70-71
6. Ibid.

The two Kashmiri brothers Khwaja Hassan and Khwaja Ishaq, who were initially the disciples of Shaikh Hamza were later on initiated into the Qadiriyyah order by Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri. It is also believed that Khwaja Hassan was directly blessed by the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). He lived at the Zaingiri village and is also buried there. However, Khwaja Ishaq brother of Khwaja Hasan lived as a *Qalander* for some time and then permanently left Kashmir for the Mecca and Medina and he died there.[1]

Ismail Shami (16th Century A.D).

Sayyid Ismail came to India from Syria, and then in 992 AH / 1581 AD., he shifted to the the Valley of Kashmir for some time.[2] He had got his early education from his father Suliaman, and was initiated into the Qadiri order by a Sufi Sayyid Muhammad Qadiri, and claimed that he has the direct descentship of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani.[3]

Initially in 1583 A.D he entered the circle of Baba Dawud Khaki, who was a remarkable Sufi of Suhrawardiyyah silsila in Kashmir. Sayyid Ismail lived in his company for a long time.[4] Khwaja Muhammad Azam in '*Waqiat-i-Kashmir'* refers that, they have a close friendship, and Baba Dawud granted to Sayyid Ismail, Suhrawardi *khilafat*, while he received in return his Qadiri *khilafat* from the later.[5]

Baba Dawud also praises Sayyid Ismail Shami's laudable character, simplicity and spiritual achievements, and delicacy in his poetry. But he did not stay long in Kashmir and returned to India after his brief stay there, he firmly laid the foundation of the Qadiri order, through his disciple Mir Nazuk Niyazi.[6]

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1. Ibid.
2. Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, *History of the Qadiri Order in India (16th - 18th) Century*, Delhi, 2005, p. 192. See also Muhammad Azam Kashmiri, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* University No. 72, *Farsia Akhbar*, A.M.U. Library, f. 100
3. *Kasmiri Sufism*, op. cit., p. 268.
4. Muhammad Azam Kashmiri, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, University No. 72, *Farsia Akhbar*, A.M.U. Library, ff. 102b Baba Dawud Khaki was born in 1521 A.D and died in 1585 A.D at Anantnag, he was the disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum who died in A.D 1576. Baba Dawud was a great scholar and Sufi poet. He wrote a number of treatises. See for details P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1973, p. 555.
5. Ibid., f. 102b.
6. *Kasmiri Sufism*, op. cit., p. 269.

Mir Nazuk.

Mir Nazuk hereditarily belonged to the family of *Qazis*. The most eminent among them was Qazi Mir Ali. Mir Nazuk like his *Pir* Sayyid Ismail also blessed by some of the contemporary Sufis like Shaikh Hamza, Sayyid Ali Sindi, and Baba Dawud Khaki, and also received the Suhrawardi *khilafat*.[1]

Mir Nazuk was a disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki who introduced him to Sayyid Ismail who initiated him into the Qadiriyyah order besides the Suhrawardiyyah order. When he found him such an honest man, Sayyid Ismail gave him the *Khirqa* and *Ijazat-nama* for the purpose to enroll disciples in the order.[2]

Mir Nazuk was a man of high caliber having good qualities, polite in speech, reserved in nature, who used to spend most of his time in mystical exercises at his own *hujra* (cell). However, he did not like to go outside except to attend Friday prayers. He was reluctant. Once a disciple offered Mir Nazuk some fruits from his orchard but Mir Nazuk refused as that he was not sure whether the legal tax (*zakat*) was paid on the orchard by the orchard owner or not.[3]

Mir Nazuk spent most of his life in preaching the practices of Qadiri order in Kashmir. As Muhammad Azam says that, “the Qadiri silsila spread in this land (Kashmir) through his efforts and later his family members made great exertion in propagating its doctrine.” Mir Nazuk breathed his last in A.D 1613. Mir Yusuf Qadiri the son and disciple of Mir Nazuk, who died in 1617 A.D was buried close to the tomb of his father.[4]

Mir Nazuk did not practice *Sama* unlike Sayyid Naimatullah Shah but so far Sayyid Ismail is concerned, it is not known whether he practiced *Sama* or not. But Baba Dawud, Mir’s earlier preceptor certainly approved of it. Mir Nazuk died on 9th *Zul-Hijja*, 1022/ 20th January, 1614 and was buried at Qadikadal, in Srinagar.[5]

1. *History of the Qadiri Order in India (16th - 18th) Century*, op. cit., p. 192
2. *Kasmiri Sufism*, op. cit., p. 250. *Khirqa* means saintly dress in succession of a Sufi and *Ijazat-nama* means to give legally permission to take the devotees in the Sufi silsila.
3. *History of the Qadiri Order in India (16th - 18th) Century*, op. cit., p. 192
4. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, op. cit. cit., f. 122a.
5. *Kasmiri Sufism*, op. cit., p. 251.

Mir Yusuf, who was the eldest son of Mir Nazuk, took the charge of Mir Nazuk's khanqah at Khanyar in Srinagar. In A.H 1027/ A.D 1617 Yusuf passed away from this world due to plague. The responsibility of popularizing the Qadiriyyah order in Kashmir was carried on by Mir Muhammad Ali (d. 17th *Zul-Hajja*, 1070/ 24th August 1660). He was the third son of Mir Nazuk.[1]

Hazrat Mir Muhammad Ali.

Mir Muhammad was the son of Mir Nazuk Qadiri. He was very intelligent, learned and sagacious, in nutshell, a gifted person. He was having spiritual power and because of his piousness and spirituality a large number of people attracted towards him.[2] He by his *zikr-i-jahr* (loud-recitation of God's names) practice in the *halqa* (circle), and hence every one affected and attracted by the Divine love. He was married to the daughter of Mir Daud Dauwarki, a prominent scholar. In the last days of his life, he was afflicted by troublesome conditions, so he decided to go to Shahjanabad.[3] He met to Shaikh Masum Farooq who respected him.[4] But he lived there for a short period of time and then on Shah Masum's suggestion he returned to Kashmir. In the year 1661 A.D., he passed away from this world and was buried there close to the grave of his father in Kashmir.[5]

The author of *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* claims that, "the Qadiri order spread in Srinagar and Valley through his efforts and after him his mission was continued by his worthy successors."[6]

Shaikh Abdur-Rahim Qadiri.

He was the son of Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Qadiri. Abdur-Rahim was among the *murids* of Hazrat Miyan Mir of Lahore. He was well aware about internal and external aspects of his life, but he used to teach the children and remained busy in Qur'anic *maktub* throughout the day with inner devotion. He generally but not regularly, performed the practices of *Bate* and *Tariqat*. He received knowledge from Khwaja

1. Ibid., p. 251.
2. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., f. 151a.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.., ff. 151b, 171b.

Hasan. Hence Khwaja Hasan received knowledge from Mullah Shah, besides the Qadiri order he was also *murid* in the Naqashbandi and Suhrawardi orders. He passed away from this world on 2nd Safar A.H 1115/ A.D 1703-1704 and was buried in *astan* of Khwaja Sadar-ud-Din in the adjoining areas of Zainakadal Srinagar. He was the 18th century Qadiri Sufi of Kashmir. He was also the contemporary to the author of *'Waqiat-i-Kashmir',* Mohammad Azam Diddamari who often used to meet him.[1]

The Qadiri order was further flourished into Kashmir by Sayyid Ismail Shami in the year of 1584-85. Sayyid Ismail was the *murid* of the famous Qadiriyyah Sufi Mir Sayyid Muhammad Qadiri. He visited many countries like Rome, Sham (Syria) and Hind. He came to Kashmir in the year A.H 992 / AD 1584-1585 where he got closely associated with Shaikh Baba Dawud Khaki, and on the request of Sayyid Ismail Shami, Baba Dawud Khaki placed Mir Nazuk Qadiri under his tutorship.[2]

However, it was the reign of Mughal emperor Shahjahan when the Qadiri order had reached to its utmost heights because of the glorious contribution of Mullah Shah Badakshi. He was the religious preceptor of Dara Shukoh.[3]

Hazrat Akhwand Mullah Shah.

Mullah Shah was a great Qadiri Sufi of Kashmir who was a remarkable poet and scholar.[4] Mullah Shah Badakshi had great respect at the Mughal court. Both son and daughter of Shahjahan (Dara Shukoh and Jahan Ara Begum) were the devoted followers of Mullah Shah Badakhshi. Wazir Sadullah Khan was also one of his followers. Even the Mughal emperor Shahjahan, had a great respect for Qadiri Sufi Mullah Shah Badakshi.[5] Born in 1585 in a village called Arkasa in Badakshan[6], his real name was Shah Muhammad[7], he was the son of Mullah Abidi, bin Moulana Sultan, Ali, Bin Qazi Fathullah the Qazi of Arkasa.[8]

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1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 338-39.
2. Ibid., pp. 169-70.
3. Mohammad Sadiq, *Tarikh-i-Shahjani wa Alamgiri,* Rotograph No. 45 in the Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, ff. 110a See also Dara Shukoh, *Sakinat-ul Auliya,* (ed.), Dr. Tara Chand and Sayyid Raza Jalali Naini, Tehran, 1965, pp. 154-57.
4. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh: Life and Works,* Calcutta, 1953, p. 87. See also (ed.), Dr. Tara Chand and Sayyid Raza Jalani Naini, *Sakinat-ul Auliya,* op. cit., p. 152.
5. Mullah Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshanama,* vol. 2, Asiatic Society Bengal, wa Tashi, (ed.), Moulvi Kabir-ud-Din and Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1868, p. 207.
6. (Ed.), Dr. Tara Chand and Sayyid Raza Jalani Naini, *Sakinat-ul Auliya,* op. cit., pp. 153-54
7. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 268.
8. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, (ed.), Dr. Tara Chand and Sayyid Raza Jalani Naini, op. cit., p. 154

In A.H 1023/ AD 1614-1615 he went to Lahore. He also received knowledge from Hazrat Miyan Mir Qadiri of Lahore who lived like a *Majzoob* and *Qalander* type life. Mullah Shah also travelled widely in areas like a *Qalander* for a long time. Meanwhile he came to Kashmir, where he made a cell for the prayers. This way, he became very famous in the city of Srinagar.[1] Mullah Shah mostly used to prefer meditation and prayers in the darkness of night in his *hujra* (cell). Here, one night Prince Dara Shukoh visited him, Mullah Shah asked someone to lighten the lamp. Afterwards turning towards Dara Shukoh, he said that he ordered to light the lamp for him and recited the following verse:[2]

Nai Chiragheist Darin Khana-i Virana-i Ma
Roshan As Aatish-i Ishq-i Tu-Shudah Khana-i Ma
(In this desolate cell of ours we do not have a candle
as the fire of our Love illuminates our abode.)

Miyan Mir who was the preceptor of Mullah Shah Badakshi was fully satisfied with him and was of the view that, Mullah Shah's theory of *Tauhid* was based on experimental fact.[3] Miyan Mir remarked, "*Tauhid* has completely over powered him; his sayings and doings testify this fact."[4] With the result Miyan Mir wrote a letter to Mullah Shah in which he expressed his feelings of love and attachment for him. The letter is preserved in the *Nusha-i-Ahwal-I Sahi,* by Tawakkul Beg. In the letter it is stated that, *"I often advised you to abstain from making such outrageous remarks and not to discuss the concept of **Tauhid** in public but now I believe that all these things are practiced by you in a state of oblivion, so I forgive you and congratulate you on attaining high spiritual stages. Live in Kashmir, the beautiful and prosperous land, as long as you like. Do not undertake trouble to come to my presence. The spiritual relationship that exists between you and me is enough."*[5]

In the year 1646 A.D Mullah Shah started writing the *tafsir* of the following Sura of the *Holy Qur'an*:[6]

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 268.
2. (Ed.), Dr Tara Chand and Sayyid Raza Jalani Naini, *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, op. cit., p. 155.
3. Tawakkul Beg Kubli, *Nuskha Ahwal-i Sahi*, Rotograph (No. 138) in the Department of History, AMU. Aligarh, ff. 23-24.
4. Ibid., f. 24a.
5. Ibid.
6. *History of the Qadiri Order in India (16th - 18th) Century*, op. cit., p. 202.

(a) *Al-Fatiha,* Chapter I.
(b) *Al-Baqarah,* Chapter II.
(c) *Al-Imran,* Chapter III.
(d) *Al-Yusuf,* Chapter XII.

Prince Dara Shukoh and his wife requested to Akhwand Mullah that they want to come to his *halqa* (circle), and they helped him in all possible ways and built a *khanqah* and a house for him. During his stay at Koh-i-Miran (Takht-i-Suliaman) in Srinagar his brothers also reached Kashmir and when they met to Mullah Akhwand, then he reminded them that he is the Mullah Shah. Muhammad Azam further informs that, his brothers and some close relatives clashed with him like the Messenger *Yusuf Al-i-Slam*. But afterwards they also came and settled in the Koh-i-Miran in Srinagar. More over Baba Nasibud-Din arrived in Kashmir with the purpose to meet Shaikh Hamza Kashmiri. On the request of the followers of Mullah Shah, Baba Nasib-ud-Din also met him (Mullah Shah). In A.H 1069/ A.D 1658-1659 Aurangzeb ascended the throne of Mughal Empire. Hence the opponents of the Dara Shukoh motivated the emperor Aurangzeb for calling the Mullah Shah in the Mughal court. But Mullah Shah left for Lahore and lived there. Mullah Shah had used to say in the last days of his life that, "Thanks for God, as the earlier and last stage of my life spent in poverty." Mullah Shah was buried after his death at Darapur in Lahore.[1]

Hazrat Khwaja Habibullah Gani.

He was the son of Khwaja Ibrahim Gani. In his youth, he joined the orders of Yaqub Dar. But on the death of Yaqub Dar, Shah Qasim Haqqani returned from pilgrimage, he called Khwaja Habibullah to contact him and made him as his disciple. His good manners, amicable disposition and devotion to learning soon elevated him to a favorable position in the circle of his new guide Shah Qasim Haqqani. Therefore, he learned *Tariqat* from his new *murshid* Shah Qasim. He not only preached and trained the men but he also guided the *Jinnats* (*giants*) etc. He lived a long life. He also went

1. Shaikh Muhammad Murad Taing, *Tuhfatul Fuqra*, (ed. *taqiq wa tanqid wa tashi matan),* Dr. Sayida Ruqia, Srinagar, 1997, pp. 87-89 see also *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.) Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 268-70 Sayida Ruqia referencing from Abdul Qadir Sarwaris book, *Kashmir Me Farsi Adab Ki Tarikh*, that the khanqah built by Dara Shukoh for Akhwand Mullah Shah on the Zabroon mountain and this Khanqah was famous with the name of "Koh-i-Tilwan" but later on it was named by the name of Dara Shukoh's wife (Pari Begum) now called as Pari Mahal. Cf. *Tughfatul Fuqra*., op. cit., p. 88.

to Lahore and after staying some days at Lahore and took the *Sanad* of Qadiri silsila from Miyan Mir of Lahore. Khwaja Habibullah Gani Kashmiri passed away from this world on 2nd of *Rajub* A.H 1084/ A.D 1671 and was buried in the *mohallah* Qutb-ud-Dinpura close to his own house in Kashmir.[1]

Hazrat Shah Muhammad Fazal.

He claims that his descent is from *Hazrat Ghouse-i-Azam* and in the year A.H 1092/ AD 1681-1682 he came to Kashmir. And so for his generosity is concerned, whatever income he received, he used to utilize it within the day on his one hundred disciples who accompanied him. Anybody who comes to him, he took care of that one's expenditure for travel. He was very simple and he had high privilege in the Qadiri silsila. It was his miraculous power that during the winter days the wet clothes on his body were dried. At an age of sixty years on *Jamadiul-Awal*, in the Wednesday A.H 1117/ A.D 1705-1706 he passed away from this world and was buried in the *mohallah* Khaniyar, Srinagar.[2]

Hazrat Shaikh Anayatullah Qadiri.

He was the *murid* of Shah Abdul Hasan Qadiri. He also benefited from Hazrat Muhammad Fazal. He was very much interested in the meditation, mystic practices, Sama, music and dance, beauty etc., and he had a high stage in the interpretation of dreams. He was having the knowledge of inner and outer aspects. He also met to Hazrat Shah Ali Riza Farooqi Naqashbandi.[3]

However, the Qadiri Sufi saints also introduced Islam in the far-flung areas of Kishtwar during the reign of Shah Jahan.[4]

Shah Farid-ud-Din Baghdadi.

Shah Farid-ud-Din Qadiri Baghdadi was the son of Sayyid Mustafa and was born in A.H 1000 / 1551 A.C. He was among the descendants of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. After completing his education he travelled to many countries, in Mecca he met

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 283.
2. Ibid., pp. 339-41.
3. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Auliya-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., pp. 319-20. See also *Tuhfatul Fuqra, tahqiq wa tanqid wa tashi matan* (ed.), Dr. Sayida Ruqia, op. cit., p. 153.
4. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit, p. 161.

to Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din Al-Maghribi and also met to a very remarkable Qadiri Sufi Shaikh Muhi'd-Din Qadiri in Egypt. Hence from Baghdad he went to Sind and from there, he came to Agra and Delhi during the reign of Shah Jahan, and then went to Kishtwar in 1075 A.H/ 1664-1665 A.D., at an age of 75 there he preached Islam. During those days Kishtwar was governed by a Hindu Raja Jay Singh but the Raja was so much impressed by the piety and miraculous power that he got converted into Islam with the name of Bakhtiyar Khan. Later on in 1681 Jay Singh's successor, Kirat Singh also embraced Islam, and became Saddad Khan with the new name given to him by Aurangzeb in 1687. Even the great and famous temple (Lakishmi Narain Temple) located in the centre of the town at Kishtwar was converted into mosque but later on it become the tomb of Shah Farid-ud-Din. The Qadiriyyah order in Kishtwar after the death of Shah Farid-ud-din was further continued by his son Shah Asrar-ud-Din.[1]

However, it becomes clear that the conversion of Raja Jay Singh of Kishtwar had become an instrumental in spreading Islam in Kishtwar.

Sadat-i-Qadiriyyah Galiania Khanqahia.

The founder of this dynasty in the Poonch region was Hazrat Sayyid Shah Abdul Qadir[Rh] who is connected to Hazrat Ali by 28th generation. Shah Abdul Qadir was the witness of the reigns of Shah Aalam, Bahadur Shah I, Farukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah. He was the *Shaik-ul-mashaikh* of his period. Born at Delhi,[2] he was not only attracted by the *umras* and the rulers, of the time, but by the Sufis and Ulama as well, for his spiritual possession and charm, who also ruled over the hearts of the general Muslims. By his *zuhid* (piety) and *taqwa* he not only influenced the Muslims but also the non-Muslims. Besides it, he was much interested in tour and travelling. By this interest he reached to this mountainous area of Poonch in Kashmir. At that time Muhammad Shah Gazi was the emperor of Hindustan. The *Nizamat* of Kashmir Subah at that time was in the hands of the Amir Khan. Poonch in those days was called as *Kasba* or *Pargana*. Amir Khan ruled for 1141-1148 A.H / 1728-1736 A.D.,

1. *Kashir, Being a History of Kahmi from the Earliest Times To Our Own,* Vol. I, op. cit., p. 115. See also Shaikh Muhammad Murad Taing Kashmiri Majadadi (A.H 1056-1131), *Tuhfatul-Fuqra Wa-Auliya,* (ed.), (Taqhqiq wa-tanqid, sahi-matan), Dr. Sayida Ruqia, Srinagar, 1997, p. 182
2. Mohammad-ud-din Foq, *Tarikh-i-Aqwam-i-Pooch,* Srinagar, 1936, p. 80.

seven years and six months. Hazrat Sayyid Shah Abdul Qadir too reached Poonch during the days of Amir Khan's reign along with his family members. He resided at the place now called Mohalla Khanqah. His mother at that time was quite old and after few days of illness she passed away from this mortal world. Then he made Poonch his residing place. Due to the *mazar* (grave or tomb) of his mother this Mohalla become famous with the name of Mohallah-i Khanqah. He also built a concrete mosque near the grave of his mother which still remains even today. This Mohallah is also called as Purani Poonch, gives an indication of population which could have been there at that very time.[1]

Muhammad Shah Gazi granted him some jagir in the Poonch which with the passage of time was increased by the later emperors. He belonged to the Qadiriyyah order of Sufis. He after his death was buried just opposite the mosque that was built by him. His son Sayyid Shah Mohammad Ibrahim was his successor, on whose name the grant of jagir order was for the first time issued in 1152 A.H / 1739-1740 A.D., besides Poonch, his followers are found in the districts of Reasi, Mirpur, and in the parts of Kashmir Valley. Raja Rustum ruler of Poonch of that period had a highly regard for him. He was much interested in the propagation of Islam. But he did not live long. His son Sayyid Shah Shams-ud-din Qadiri became his successor. In 1177 A.H./ 1764 A.D. Raja Rustum Khan was the sovereign of Poonch but Kashmir at that time was under the command of Durani dynasty of Afghans,[2] where Noor-ud-din Khan Bamzai was the Afghan governor. However, Raja Rustum further increased the jagir of Sayyid Shah Shamsu-ud-din. Furthermore, Ahmad Shah Abadali who was holding Punjab, Kabul and Kashmir, when heard about piousness of Sayyid Shah Shams-ud-din, not only retained the jagir of Poonch, but also granted *Pargana* Biru, a jagir of eight thousand Dam, through his governance whose income in kind was equal to one hundred *Khrawar Shali,* a village with the name of Bang was also granted.[3]

After his death, his son and successor Sayyid Shah Taj-ud-din Qadiri retained these jagirs and also added few more villages to it. Raja Khan Bahadur Khan successor of Rustum Khan (the Chief of Poonch), had too confirmed and increased in the jagirs allotted to Sayyid Shah Taj-ud-din Qadiri in 1207 A.H / 1752-1793 A.D and

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1. Ibid., p. 81.
2. Ibid., p. 82.
3. Ibid., p. 83.

1216 A.H. / 1801-1802 A.D. Raja Khan Bahadur ruled for a short time and the conditions become worst after his death. At that time Zaman Shah Durani was the king of Kabul and Kashmir, and on his behalf Abdullah Khan Al-Qazayi was ruling in Kashmir. In 1216 A.H. / 1801-1802 A.D Abdullah Khan who called Raja Khan Bahadur Khan to Kashmir, and there he got him assassinated by poisoning him. With the help of the *wazir* of Khan Bahadur viz Roohullah Khan and his son Amir Khan was confirmed as the Raja of Poonch. By the orders of 1221 A.H. / 1806-1807 A.D he also retained jagirs of Sayyid Shah Taj-ud-din. For a short period he went to Kotli in Mirpur district, where some members of his family still lived. However Pir Sayyid Shah Taj-ud-din was a good writer and also a learned scholar. People from the far-flung areas visited to him for blessings, his spiritual and noble activities. His death was mourned at various places besides Poonch by his followers.[1]

After the death of *Pir* Sayyid Shah Taj-ud-din his son Sayyid Shah Siraj-ud-din become his successor. During this period neither in Poonch there was any Muslim Raja, nor in Kashmir, there was a Muslim ruler, as both the regions in 1819 A.D were under the the Raja Ranjeet Singh of Punjab.[2]

This succession of the Qadiri Sufi saints (*gaddi Naisheeni*) continued in the Poonch. The number of the followers of this succession later on spread over Poonch, Kashmir, Rajouri, Reasi, Kishtwar, Banihal, Kotli, Mirpur and even up to Punjab. It was the effect of the greatness of Hazrat Sayyid Abdul Qadir[Rh] that their succession continued one after another. And an old tradition of this dynasty was that, the elder son had always succeeded to his father or preceptor.[3]

Sadat-i-Hamdania Hanfia.

Sayyid Rasool Shah, Mir Sayyid Masoom Shah and Sayyid Akbar Shah were the sons of Sayyid Shah Ji who is buried in Peshawar. According to them, their silsila belongs to Shah Hamadan. They came from Kashmir to Poonch in the reign of Raja Rustum Khan. Rasool Shah in Poonth and Masoom Shah in the Dagwar an adjoining areas of Poonch, settled down. Some members of this dynasty are also found in the

1. Ibid., pp. 83-84.
2. Ibid., pp. 84-85.
3. Ibid., p. 86.

Uri town of Kashmir Valley in a village named 'Dhanin Sayyidun' is situated at Chakar.[1]

Nur Bakshi Silsila.

The order was introduced into the Kashmir Valley by Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi.[2] Abdul Majid writes that, "it was basically a mystic order, but had close affinity to the Shia ideology and gradually it came to be associated too closely to the Shiite creed. Iraq's son, Daniyal, introduced this order in Askardoo and Kargil. All this development took place before the Mughal annexation."[3] However after the conquest of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, the Nur Bakshia movement received a setback and its strongholds were destroyed.[4]

The Nur Bakshi order in Kashmir was though a mystic order but soon it turned into political movement, with the result that it could not sustain in political competition with the other political groups. Therefore, after the decline of Chak rule in 1586 A.D, the Maliks of Chadoora became the supporters and well-wishers of this sect in Kashmir. Even during the reign of Mughal emperor Jahangir the *Shi-Khanqahs* at Hasanabad and Zadibal were re-constructed but there was no further expansion of this sect because there were only few followers of this sect in some of the areas of Kashmir, like Askardo and Kargil.[5]

Shia-Sunni Relations.

Hence during the Muslim rule in Kashmir various Madad-i-Ma'ash grants were granted to the Sufis, theologians, scholars and other prominent religious and knowledgeable personalities. It was because of the patronization of the Muslim rulers towards the above mentioned institutions and that more and more such intellectuals, learned personalities were attracted towards Kashmir. Shams-ud-Din came to

1. Ibid., p. 92
2. Mirza Haidar Dughlat, *The Tarikhi Rashidi (A History of the Mughals of Central Asia)*, (ed.), by N. Elias, (English tr.), E. Denison Ross, Patna, 1973, P. 435.
3. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p.162.
4. *The Tarikhi Rashidi (A History of the Mughals of Central Asia)*, Edt. by N. Elias, (tr.), E. Denison Ross, op. cit., P. 436.
5. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p. 162.

Kashmir in 1481 A.D from Talish in Iraq as an ambassador to the court of Sultan Hasan Shah.[1]

During the reign of Fateh Shah and Muhammad Shah there emerged a great dispute between the Kashmiri nobles and the Sultans of Kashmir. The dispute first emerged when Hasan Shah, a Bahaqi Sayyid Sultan did not behaved well with the Kashmiri nobles, with the result, the Kashmiri nobles made a conspiracy against Hasan Shah and killed him in the royal building of the capital city of Kashmir along with his four sons. Some of the Kashmiri nobles collectively brought Fateh Shah who was the son of Adham (the son of Zainul Abidin) and he was the ruler of Naushara one of the town of Srinagar. He started to rule over Kashmir but Muhammad Shah the son of Hassan Shah sought army help from India against Fateh Shah. Thus there was a civil war between the sons of Zainal Abidin, and the Kashmiri nobles which created chaos and confusion in the region and finally Fateh Shah was defeated by Muhammad Shah, and the later went to Punjab. Muhammad Shah ascended the throne and ruled over Kashmir for fifty two years. It was during this period Hafiz Fatahullah Shah passed away from this world and Shaikh Ismail was appointed as the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* in Kashmir. A *khanqah* was built by Shams Chak and another *khanqah* was built in the north of Koh-i-Hari Parbat. At this *khanqah* about four hundred Sufis daily recite *Aurad* (*zikr-i-jhar*) after the morning prayers. More over the rulers of Kashmir first in the morning used to appear in front of the Shaikh Ismail and then started the official work as rulers. Rulers like Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah etc., managed for the expanses of the daily *langar*. All the Sufis who recite *Aurad* in the *khanqah* were served food. The food was also served to the scholars and Sufis who used to come from outside like Hindustan and Kabul to attend the holy assembly, for learning knowledge and to receive spiritual training for the inner aspect from the Shaikh Ismail. And during this period Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi came to Kashmir but during that time he could not propagate his mission because of Shaikh Ismail, and after indulging the Kashmiri nobles into mutual dispute, with the result, he returned back to his country, and met to Sultan Husain Mirza who found some doubt in the inner aspect and attention of the Shmas-ud-Din Iraqi. Hence he was suspended from the

1. *The Tarikhi Rashidi (A History of the Mughals of Central Asia)*, (ed.), N. Elias, English tr. by E. Denison Ross, op. cit., pp. 434-35. *Talish* was actually a tribe in the province of Gilan in Iraq. So the term Talish was used for the Gilan province.

government Job, but later on he again tried to come to Kashmir. Before coming to Kashmir from Lahore, he had sent a man to inform him about Shaikh Ismail of Kashmir, who informed him that Shaikh Ismail is now of an old age and Baba Ali is selected as his *khalifa*. In this situation Shams-ud-Din wrote a letter to Baba Ali, who was simple yet a foolish man, and thus he could not understand the diplomacy of Shamas-ud-Din Iraqi. Baba Ali Najar become Shams-ud-Din Iraqi's first disciple, he (Iraqi) himself was regarding as Nur Bakshi Sufi and disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Nur Baksh. Finally Ali Najar brought the Shams-ud-Din Iraqi to his house and *khanqah.*[1]

In A.H 948/ A.D 1540-41 Mirza Haidar Dughlat attacked on Kashmir and as Nazuk Shah was ruler only in name. Shams-ud-Din Iraqi therefore wrote a book called *Fikh-i-Ahwat*, to offer to the people of Kashmir, highlighting Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nur Baksh son of Shams-ud-Din the preaching of Nur Bakshi order. But Mirza Haidar sent this book to the Ulama of Hindustan, for the examination and they in turn replied about the book that it was full innovation (*bid'at*) in the religious matters.[2] On the basis of this report, Mirza Haidar Dughlat made target the forts and other places of Chaks by attacking upon them. The *khanqah* of Zadibal was also burnt down. With the death of Mirza Haidar Dughlat in an encounter in 1551 A.D., the Chak rule again started, and they made their mind to take revenge from Sunni Ulama who were against the Chak rule. With the result Shahmari dynasty declined and the Sunnis of Kashmir because of the tyrant rule of the Chaks they invited the powerful Mughals of India. As it is also mentioned in earlier chapters that in 1584-85 on behalf of this delegation of Sunnis of Kashmir to the Akbar's court, the Mughal Emperor Akbar sent a huge army under Shah Rukh Mirza and Raja Bagwan Das and in that

1. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Shajra-i-Sadaat,* (Urdu tr.), op. cit, pp. 60-63. As Shams-ud-Din Iraqi who came to Kashmir during the reign of Hasan Shah and returned back to Khurasan and then after some time again he apparently presented himself before the Kashmiri people as the *murid* of Hazrat Sayyid Muhammad Nur Baksh. But originally this Sayyid Muhamad Nur Baksh's connection is to somehow to the *khulifa* of *Amir-i-kabir* Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. And his name was Sayyid Muhammad Husaini and he got famousness with the title of Abu Qasim Qutb-ud-Din and he received *khilafat* from Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani and passed away from this world in the year A.H 869./ AD 1464-1465 Sayyid Qasim also called Faiz Baksh, is the son of Sayyid Nur Baksh, their contribution towards the Kubravi Silsila continued but to call him as Iraqi is totally false and baseless, for details you can see Khwaja Muhammad Azam, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shamas-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 122-23.
2. *The Tarikhi Rashidi (A History of the Mughals of Central Asia)*, (ed.), N. Elias, (Tr.), E. Denison Ross, op. cit., pp. 434-35.

invasion the Mughals annexed Kashmir to India as one of its *Subahs*.[1] Abdul Majid is of the opinion that, "The establishment of the Mughal rule subsided the sectarian tension for some time but mutual dislike was still simmering in the diehards and could have manifested itself in an ugly manner if given the time and expression."[2]

However, during the Mughal rule once again the Maliks of Chadoora made their place within the administration. As when the Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi was displaced from the governorship, his office was filled by Nawab Qalij Khan and it was in 1618 A.D. when Malik Haidar was allowed to run the administration of Kashmir, as he fitted suitable to it. The people were also satisfied with him for equality and justice. And, he was also given the title of *Chaghatai* because of his special care towards *Zamaindari* interest and its development and progress.[3]

Malik Ali who was the brother of Malik Haidar was also granted mansab and jagirs, with the result, the *khanqah* of Zadibal and Hasanabad were reconstructed. Therefore, the growing power of these people, obviously made tension in the minds of the other sections of the society in Kashmir Valley. Though the *Subahdars* like Ahmad Beg Khan and Dilawar Khan tried to convey to Jahangir against the interference of these Maliks so that to check the importance of these Maliks.[4]

In the year 1622 A.D an incident of fire took place in the Srinagar city, in which a part of the city, including Jama Masjid of Srinagar also became target of the fire. As the Mughal emperor Jahangir was also in Kashmir during this episode and he ordered some royal water carriers under the Maliks to put an end to the fire but they could not do so, which resulted in the burning of mosque. Hence for this incident Malik Naji and Malik Haidar were considered responsible and for the negligence of their duty they were charged for the setting of fire to the mosque, as their *khanqah* of Zaidibal was also destroyed earlier. Jahangir ordered the Maliks to rebuild the mosque on their own expenses. But this whole incident created sectarian tension between the *Shias* and *Sunnis*.[5]

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1. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., pp. 149-50.
2. Ibid., p. 150.
3. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (English tr.), op. cit., p. 266.
4. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p. 150.
5. Ibid., p. 150.

In 1636 A.D on some disputes riots broke out in Maisuma in the Srinagar city of Kashmir Valley. As in the area of Maisuma there was a Mulberry garden and both the *Sunnis* and *Shias* were eating mulberries, suddenly there started a quarrel between these people of the two sections. However, in this quarrel, some of the *Shias* used indecent words about the Prophet (SAW) and the three *Khulifa*. And with the short interval of period, the whole city got involved in these riots and the *Sunnis* made their targets the *khanqahs* of Zadibal and Hasanabad and destroyed them. Meanwhile Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqashbandi came ahead and he tried to control the situation and demanded that the criminals should be given death punishment. But Zafar Khan the Subahdar of Kashmir could not take any hard and fast action against the criminals, with the result Khwaja Khwand Mahmud left the city and stayed at Haft Chinar. The followers of Khwaja Khawand also followed him there, finally Khwaja Khawand Mahmud was summoned by the emperor Shahjahan at Delhi, from where he migrated to Lahore and he was not allowed to return to the Valley of Kashmir.[1]

Therefore, in the year 1667 A.D. once again sectarian riots broke out in Srinagar. The clash started as Shaikh Abdul Rashid Chicken Posh was going to join the *Urs-Sharif* (annual fair) of Shaikh Noor-ud-din, along with his other followers at Charar-i-sharif. As the procession reached at a place called Chadoora where Malik Haidar’s son Malik Hasan did not give any sort of attention and respect to the pilgrims. In this situation, Shaikh Rashid and the Malik Hasan had involved in hot talk. And then Shaikh Rashid approached towards the Saif Khan, and satisfied him with details. Some *Khufia-Nawis* also reported the facts to the Mughal Emperor, and the case was handed over to the *Qazi* Askar, on whose order Malik Husain and his friends were given the death punishment.[2]

In the year 1685-86 A.D exactly after one hundred years of Mughal annexation of Kashmir, there were again disastrous riots that took place in the Valley. It was started with a quarrel between a business man and one Abdul Shakoor a resident of Hasanabad on some private matter. Abdul Shakoor was not willing to pay his debt, with the result both the parties indulged themselves and used some vulgar words to each other. Therefore the business man registered a case against the debtor

1. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Auliya-i-Kashmir,* Part. I, op. cit, pp. 205-7.
2. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p. 151.

alleging him that he committed denunciation of the Prophets companions (*Sahabah*) and he demanded from the court of *Qazi* that death punishment should be given to the debtor. An attempt was made by Ibrahim Khan to persuade both the parties through good offices of Mullah Tahir Mufti. However, the conditions were deteriorated by Murad Khan, Alaf Khan, Mirza Muqim, Khwaja Sharif Dehhedi and Muhammad Sabir. During this period some vagabonds set fire to the Hasanabad. Hasan Khan who was the son of Fidai Khan was sent by Ibrahim Khan for the security of the residents of Hasanabad. But the Afghan nobles raised arms against Fadai Khan. Although Mufti Tahir tried to solve the problem but the *Qazi* in Kashmir did give him chance to do so. Hence Mufti himself suffered from this wrath, his house and the *Subahdar's* house were put to fire. On the orders of Ibrahim Khan his solders tried to put an end the riots, by arresting *Qazi* Aslam, but the people resisted Fidai and during the firing that opened by Fidai Khan, about forty people were killed. In this clash many people including Baqi Baba, Haji Bandi, Khwaja Qasim and Lala Ganai were arrested, and Ibrahim Khan was transferred and demolished.[1]

The Afghan nobles become successful in their purpose. After an investigation Ibrahim Khan was declared as innocent but it took almost two years to know the reality.[2] Besides the city of Srinagar the village and rural life was also influenced by these riots. Some of the followers of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi petitioned in the office of *Qazi* Abdul Karim, against Rustum Mantu and charged him of abusing the *Sahaba*. Therefore, Rustum Mantu an *Imamia Shia* was executed on behalf of the orders of the Qazi Abdul Karim. Another clash occurred in a village named Arwart. The base of this clash was a mosque and the Subahadar of the period personally settled the matter by giving the mosque to the *Shias*. But the *Sunnis* of Kashmir were not satisfied as it was earlier captured by the *Sunnis* of that area. In this way the sectarian feelings initiated by Mirza Haidar Dughlat divided both the sections of the Muslim community i.e., the *Shias* and *Sunnis* during the entire period and carried on even during the Afghan period. With continue of mutual tussle, they could not defeat their common enemy and hence lost their independence.[3]

1. Ibid., p. 151.
2. Ibid., pp. 151-52.
3. Ibid., p.152.

However the Mughal emperors never encouraged the sectarian division among the people of the Kashmir. Many steps were taken for maintaining the check and balance, and for maintaining the internal security or peace in the empire, they even punished prominent people, found involved in such rival activities.[1]

Hazrat Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqashbandi came to Kashmir from Bukhara. He first established his *khanqah* in the house of Husain Shah, who was his follower.[2] As Khwaja Mahmud was an influential personality, and had close relations with the Mughal Court therefore he was also sent out of Kashmir, no concession was given to him inspite of the fact that he was religious preceptor of Jahan Ara Begum. Moreover, Aurangzeb also took some action against Saif Khan and Ibrahim Khan because of their partiality towards one section. This indicates that Mughal imperial policy always tried to maintain peace through different imposed rules and regulations.[3]

Rishi order, 16th Century onwards.

As it is already described that this indigenous order was founded by a Kashmiri Rishi named Shaikh Noor-ud-din Rishi in the 14th-15th century but the order got much popularity and support, simply because of the favourable conditions and due to the hard work, of its saints and it flourished speedily in the entire Kashmir. However, after the death of Shaikh Nooru-ud-din, the order was further increased and promoted by the followers and disciples of Noor-ud-din, and during the 16th and 17th centuries, the position of this order was quite better, as a number of local Kashmiris joined this order. In fact, its development was a sort of social protest against the dedicated fruition Ulama of Kashmir.[4]

Mirza Haidar Dughlat informs that during his period the Sufis (Rishis) had legitimatized so many heresies and they even did not know what is wrong and which is right within the light of *Sharia* (Islamic-law). They did not care and distinguish between moral and immoral. A large number of these Rishis started interpreting dreams, displaying miracles, and obtaining from the unseen, information regarding

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1. Ibid.
2. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Auliya-i-Kashmir,* Part. I, op. cit., pp. 203-205.
3. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p.152.
4. Ibid., p.155.

either of the future or about the past. They consider *Shria* as the 2nd in importance to reach utmost Truth.[1]

However on one hand, *Shiaism* was spreading under the patronage of Chak rulers and on the other hand Rishis liberal and Shavitic attitude was in process. As a result the people supported Naqashbandi order particularly, though the people in general followed Sufi orders in Kashmir. They supported to the Naqashbandi order so that they can face the challenges and problems created by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and his son Daniyal, and their followers, as the Naqashbandi order emphasized the orthodox Islamic thought. On the other hand the Ulama wanted to retain the control of the imperial policy. Later on, with the passage of time, the people also withheld their support to the Rishi order for the purpose to gain the orthodox Islamic thought. With the result as the Rishis were having neither *khanqahs* nor any sustained places for the congregation and to provide instructions to the newly entered Rishis. And they were not organized like the other Sufi orders. Therefore, the order which was in disorganized form could not sustain further and declined during the Mughal period. That is why, the Rishi order of Kashmir could not compete with the social status enjoyed by the Suhrawardiyyah, Naqashbandiyyah, Chishtiyyah and Qadiriyyah orders, which were mostly well organized in a systematical manner to fulfill the received Islamic thought.[2]

Hazrat Hardi Rishi Baba.

He belonged to the Lohars (iron-smith) family. It is said that, one hundred years before him Shaikh Nooru-ud-din gives information about his appearance and spiritual excellence. Hardi Rishi right from the beginning had the utmost interest in piousness. He adopted the ways of Rishis. Though it is claimed that he was an Owesi, he never showed his concern to any particular silsila. He regularly kept fast and during the nights remained busy in meditation. The whole life he spent in this way. In his early age many miracles were revealed by him. It is said about him that he served very much to the guests. One day a guest came to his house but his mother told him that fish was there in the house but a kite had taken her. Hazrat Hardi Baba Rishi

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1. *The Tarikhi Rashidi (A History of the Mughals of Central Asia)*, (ed.), N. Elias, (Tr.), E. Denison Ross, op. cit., p. 436.
2. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p.156.

replied if a fish was sent for us, then why kite was given the direction of this way and if it was the right of kite then why the fish was sent to we people. In this way, meanwhile a kite caught a fish and brought and put it in front of the Baba. He used to say that his vastness is due to his soul recitations. In the company of the Shaikh Hamza he was benefited from all kinds of spirituality. It is famous about him that after some time he ate flesh on the instance of Hazrat Hamza Makhdumi and got spiritual enhancement and entered in the Suhrawardiyyyah order. Hardi Rishi got *shijra* of the *Pirs* from Hamza Makhdumi. He died on 1st *Zilqada* and is buried in the Islamabad town. Baba Dawud composed the date of his death in a verse 'in Kashmir he was known *Shaikkh-u-Din* of his period. His date of death year was *"Shaikh Din Bood"* (986 A.H. / 1578 A.D).[1]

Shaikh Naroz Rishi.

He was one of the employees in the government service. Besides it, he was famous for his anger, intensity and harshness. Sultan appointed him at needy places. Once he crossed a forest for the purpose of royal hunting which was the residing place of Shaikh Naik Rishi. Shaikh Naroz kept for some time his fellowmen away and he himself disappeared and watched that Shaikh Naik Rishi had served meals to the wild animals. Certainly a bear wanted to snatch the part of a jackal. On this action of a bear Shaikh Naik Rishi told that it looks that there is an effect upon you of the cruel Naroz, due to his passing from this route that you are dominating over the jackal. As Shaikh Naroz heard he torn his clothes and appeared in his service, in this way he acquired the true knowledge about his sentiments for Allah. He becomes an ascetic. Naik Rishi, whole night examined and delivered lectures about his *tark-i-adat* works, and late in night he started giving *ilm-i-batin* to the Shaikh Naroz. In a few days he trained the Shaikh Naroz in this way finally appointed him his successor and died very soon. Shaikh Naroz lived for some time at his preceptor's place. Later on when he heard about Makhdum Shaikh Hamza he went to him, and within a short period of time he got great stage among his contemporaries.[2]

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1. *Waqqia-ti-Kashmir (Tarikh-i-Kashmir Uzma),* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Khwaja Hamid Yazdani, op. cit., pp. 216-17
2. Ibid., p. 217

Shaikh Rupi Rishi.

Right from his childhood in humility he was interested in the worship of Creator. Finally arrived in the service of the Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and he found him in better condition than he saw Shaikh Hamza in his privacy, and became his *murid*. In a very short period he progressed very much. He performed mystical practices, fasted continuously, and lived for one hundred and twenty years. He left behind nothing except a small *khirqa* (Saintly dress, patched garment), and was buried at *mohallah* Habba Kaddal. Hazrat Baba Nasib often used to come to him and got benefited from him.[1]

Shaikh Kangi Rishi.

In his young age he was having the ascetic and divine interest, and entered in the Rihshi movement though he was an Owasi. Later on he became the *murid* of Hazrat Baba Dawud Khaki. Kangi Rishi had a cow for the purpose of milk but his *khadams* planed to sell the cow so that they may purchase salt but the cow at his hermitage requested her master, the Kangi Rishi and due this request Shaikh prohibited the servants to sell this cow. And in this way he gave up taking salt, up to last stage of his life, and also never ate the flesh of animals. One day a roasted fish was brought to him as a gift and he was requested much more so that he ate this fish. Then he said that to clear the doubt of the salt wash it with water. As the roasted fish was put in the water she became alive and she run away in the water. Many other facts about him are said. He died in 1007 A.H. /1598-99 A.D and is buried in the pargana Bankil at the village Wani-Gam.[2]

The Suhrawardi Order

The Suhrawardi order as mentioned founded by Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi during twelfth and thirteenth centuries in 1144-1234 A.D. But in India the Suhrawardi silsila was organized and founded by Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya who was born at Kot Aror near Multan in A.H. 578/ A.D. 1182-83. He lived in his *khanqah* at Multan which was having much more geo-political importance during those days.[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 259.
2. Ibid., p. 253.
3. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics During the Thirteenth Century*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 220-21.

As the Suhrawardi order was already organized in Kashmir before the 16th century but during the Mughal period the Suhrawardi order was introduced and reorganized by Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din who came to Kashmir during the 16th century. But the credit for the founding of the Suhrawardi silsila on firm grounds in Kashmir goes exclusively to Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi.[1]

When Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi was a child he joined the *Madrasa Darrul-Shafa* of Baba Ismail Kubravi as a student. He learnt theology, mystic philosophy and logic there from Baba Ismail. After receiving early education in this *madrasa*, he received training of Sufism from Jamal-ud-Din Bukhari as has been stated in the earlier chapter of my thesis.[2]

Shaikh Hamza emphasized on the following main teachings to his *murids* (followers): (i) that they should remain firmly fixed on the religion of Islam. (ii) And perform rituals whole heartedly and not just for showing the people and hence this act would become a source of facility for you on the Day of Judgment. (iii) Always you have to follow *Ahl-i-Sunnat wa jammat*. To love the *Ahl-i-bet-i-Nabi* but do not ignore the *Khulifa* of the Prophet (PBUH). (iv) Always recite *Zikr-i-Allah* because it is the easiest way to attain to the nearness of God. (vi) And kept yourself away from the sins and evil deeds and by *tauba* (repentance), renounce from the sins and evil deeds, man's stages goes high by the Almighty Allah. (vii) To treat the *ghare-mehram* woman like your own sister or mother. Put yourself in the habit of recitation of the *Holy Qur'an* and the *Sunnat-i-Nabi* (PBUH). To recite the *Aurad-i-Fathia* in a circle (*Halqa*) after the morning and evening prayers and then try to make the habit of going to the *mazaras* (shrines) of the saints which benefits in the life and after the death in both the worlds. To make a religious guide or leader among one of the ascetic or the followers of the *Shriat* and the one who is most dedicated to God. To each Muslim the obedience of a *murshid* (religious preceptor) keeps him secure from the death of ignorance.[3]

However during the Mughal rule in the Subah of Kashmir from the 16th century onwards the Suhrawardi silsila underwent some changes. Though the Shaikh

1. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p.156.
2. Ibid.
3. *Kashmir aur Islam*, op. cit., p. 158.

Hamza had some genius and highly learned disciples yet after the death of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi, there had seen some sort of decline in the functioning of the Suhrawardiyyah silsila. And the local Rishis were become dominant during that period after the death of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi.[1]

Thus the descendants of Sayyid saints and Makhdumi Sahib were called as *Pirzadas* in Kashmir. Hence these Makhdumi Sahib Pirzadas were having their followers (*murids*) in Kashmir. The *Pirzadas* held the land as granted by the Mughal rulers and these lands were cultivated for them (*Pirzadas*) by the Kashmiris, but with the passage of time these Kashmiris gave up the practice of cultivating land for their religious preceptors (*Pirzadas*), with the result either they (*Pirzadas*) migrated from there to other places where they depended upon the charity of their *murids*.[2]

The following are some prominent Suhrawardi Sufis as under study.

Hazrat Khwaja Tahir Rafiq Suhrawardi.

He was among the merchant class and belonged to the Ashayi tribe. Even in the business profession he was habitual in the meditation and attained virtue of asceticism. He become so fame once when his father Khwaja Ibrahim in the business matter reached Lahore, he appeared in the front of Abul Shakoor an offspring of Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya and entered his service, and wished for *Dua-i-khare* (blessings) prayers for well being for few of his sons who were ill. Hence Hazrat Shaikh Abul Shakoor blessed for the recovery of his sons and without consulting Khwaja Ibrahim, he secretly accepted Khwaja Tahir Rafiq. The Shaikh also wrote a letter in which he discussed about *Ah-kame-tariqat* and *Adab-i-khalwat* and about the permission of *Biyat* through the Khwaja Tahir Rafiq. And after hearing this news though Khwaja Tahir Rafiq did not gave up the drapery (cloth trade). He continued the practice of going *Bazar* (market) for the purpose of legal earnings. But after some period of time it is said that Hazrat Khizar met him and memorized him the *Hadith* of the Prophet (PBUH), that the bazaar is the worst place. Therefore on this indication Khwaja Tahir Rafiq gave up the profession of trade and accepted the profession of agriculture. He invested more up on the needy and *fuqra* for their

1. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p. 157.
2. *The Valley of Kashmir*, 2005, op. cit., p. 291.

welfare. He for achieving the high status tried with full dedication and devotion and involved himself in the mystical exercises. In the year A.H 960/ A.D 1582 near his house he built a beautiful *khanqah.* He passed away from this world in A.H 1001/ A.D 1623 and is buried at the Fatehkadal.[1] Khwaja Tahir was more reputed in the Kubraviyyah, Qadiriyyah and Suhrawardiyyah orders. He was having friendly relations with the Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi, Shaikh Baba Wali and Baba Hardi Rishi.[2]

Shaikh Masud Suhrawardi Narwari.

Hazrat Baba Masud Narwari was one of the richest people of the city of Narwar in Kashmir. He was entitled by the people as the *Malik-o-Tujar* (master businessman). But from his early life he was much interested in the meditation.[3]

He was among the *khulafa* of Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani. As during those days Shamas-ud-Din was in Kashmir and was spreading *Shiasm* secretly, exposing himself as the *murid* of Hazrat Baba Ismail. Shaikh Masud also made his attention to meet Shams-ud-Din Iraqi but on his way somebody met Shaikh Masud and told him about real mission of Shamas-ud-Din Iraqi at Zadibal and prohibited Shaikh Masud to meet him. Instead of him he told him that he should meet to Mir Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani in the *mohallah* Bulbul Langar. With the result Shaikh Masud went to met Mir Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani, where he gave Shaikh Masud the orders of the practice of *Istikhara*. In the same night Shaikh Masud saw Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in a dream on a boat and the great Suhrawardi Shaikh, having the ropes in his neck pulling the boat. In the morning he told all about the dream to his *murshid* Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani, who then explained that the strong rope of right path (*habal matin*) has been put in your neck. And from that very day he gave up the worldly wealth and property and hence involved himself in the exercise of *Zikr-i-Allahi* and his *Pir* encircled him in the Suhrawardiyyah order. It was under his influence that a large number of *Shias* in the Srinagar city got converted into *Sunni* faith of Islam. He mostly used to meet Sayyid Jalalu-d-Din and also met many times to Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi.[4] Therefore, after

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 178.
2. Ibid., p. 994.
3. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Auliya-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., p. 147.
4. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 179-80.

the death of his *murshid* Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani, Baba Masud got the permission of *Irshad* (guidance, path of righteousness) from Sayyid Ahmad kirmani's son Hazrat Sayyid Mir Masafir Mukhdum zada. Hence all those precious relics which Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani got from some saints, he kept along with himself these relics and after the care of his son he gave these relics to him and in turn his son Mir Sayyid Masafir after providing *Khat-i-irshad* to Baba Masud and offered these relics to his disciple Baba Masud, all these relics are now present in Narwar. Actually these relics are in an entirely closed and locked box and nobody yet to date had dared to open it. It is said that, in it, there is a *dupata* of Hazrat-i-Fatima and blood stained dress (gown) of the martyrs of the Karbala and a pair of shoes of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and also had '*Alem ka Panja'* whom the Prophet (SAW) always carry along with himself in the battle field. After the death of Baba Masud he was buried in the Narwar.[1]

Shaikh Momen Suhrawardi.

He was another Suhrawardi Sufi of the 18th century especially lived between the last period of Aurangzeb up to Farukh Siyar. He belonged to the Potgam pura. He was one of the great Sufi saints and is buried at the Potgam pura.[2]

Mullah Muhammad Bahi Suhrawardi.

An 18th century saint, contemporary of the Mughal emperor Farukh Siyar, was also a Suhrawardi saint, but Moinu-ud-Din writes about him that he got spiritual knowledge (*Tarikat* and *Hakikat*) from Baba Ismail Inchari.[3]

In fact he was the *Khalifa* of Baba Majnoon Narwari. He had accepted the true path and was God fearing person and had ascetic nature. He spent much of his time in the *khalvat-nasheeni*, performing mystical exercise, various *auruad* and *wazaif*. He also used to meet Baba Nourullah Narwari. For some time, he went to the Sopore town and remained there in the *chillas* (seclusion for mystical communion). Lastly on the bank of River Bohat (Jhelum) he built a mosque and a house and is buried close to this in the *mohallah* Diddamir.[4]

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1. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Auliya-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., pp. 148-49.
2. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit. p. 366.
3. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 235.
4. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit. p. 381.

Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Rafiqi Suhrawardi.

He was also a contemporary of the Mughal emperor Farukh Siyar that is of early 18th century saint of Kashmir. He was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Bin Shaikh Sharif Rafiqi. He received knowledge and guidance from his father and got high level in the inner and outer aspects of spiritual status. He loved *Sahi Bukhari*, *Nufhat, Rishihate, Tafsir-i-Husain Kushfi, Masnavi-i-Maulana Rumi, Kitabul-Arbeoin of Imam-i-Ghazali*. Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Rafiqi Suhrawardi spent 53 years of his life in seclusion, meditation and in mystical practices. On A.H 1137/ A.D 1724-1725 he passed away from this world and is buried in his own ancestral *mazar*.[1]

Hazrat Shaikh Abul Qasim Tuni Suhrawardi.

He was contemporary of Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah of the 18th century. A man of great eminence, he had a numerous qualities of contentment, disciplined ascetic and sustained himself in the poverty and hunger. He received guidance from Shaikh Yaqub Sadure. He was cool minded and modest man. He had high spiritual status and was having rare fields of knowledge. He never followed the sensual desires. He was buried in the village of Malayi.[2]

Shamsi Kak Suhrawardi.

His original name was Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Kak. He was also a poet and he also lived in Kashmir during the period of Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah. Shamsi Kak came to Baba Dawud Khaki and shown his great skill in poetry. He lived in the village of Theth at the Sonta Bog. He liked the behaviour of the Rishis. He is buried near his own house in the village of Thedth.[3]

Khwaja Muhammad Shafi Kuko Suhrawardi.

He also lived during the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah. He was also called as Shaikh Shafi Kuko. He was among the *murids* of Mullah Tyub and was very ascetic and he performed mystic practices and was firmly follower of *Shriah*. He had many good qualities with morality and was a great saint. After his death he was buried near the *mazar* of Khwaja Ismail Chishti at mohallah Khuwa in Srinagar.[4]

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1. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 237.
2. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Auliya-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit., pp. 442-43.
3. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit. p. 422.
4. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 222.

Baba Muhammad Mahandi Suhrawardi.

He was a Kashmiri saint who was the contemporary of Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah. He was among the Khulifas of Baba Abdullah Guzriali. He lived a long life which he spent in the service of his *murshid*, and in mystical practices. After the death of his *murshid*, he spent his whole life in acquiring abstinence and strictly followed the *Shriat* and *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and continued the good ways of the ancestral saints. He constructed many mosques. He lived for a long time in the Baramullah district of Kashmir. Lastly he came to the city of *mohallah* Indrawari and lived there. He passed away from this world at an age of one hundred or more years in the month of *Zilqada* A.H 1151/ A.D 1738-1739 and is buried in this *mohallah* near the grave of his *murshid* Hazrat Sayyid Abdullah.[1]

Naqashbandi Order.

The Naqashbandi order had its origin of the Silsila-i-Khawajgan in central Asia. It was earlier organized by Ahmad Ata Yasvi.[2] Though after some passage of time later on in 1318-1389 A.D the silsila was reorganized by Khwaja Bahaud-Din Naqashband and was generally known as Naqashbandiyyah order. His tomb is called as the *Qasr-i-Arifan*, is situated near Bukhara. However the founder of Naqashbandiyyah order in India is Khwaja Nasiru'-Din 'Ubaidullah Ahrar' who was the successor of Khwaja Bahaud-Din's disciple Yaqub Charkhi.[3]

However the Naqashbandiyyah order in the Mughal *Subah* of Kashmir was introduced by Khwaja Baba Wali of Khawarizm in 1590-91.[4]

Hazrat Shaikh Baba Wali.

He was among the *murids* of Shaikh Husain Khawarizmi. Hazrat Shaikh Baba Ali Wali actually belonged to Turkistan.[5] After getting his *khilafat* from Shaikh

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.) Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 439-40. Baba Abdullah Guuzriali lived in the 18th century in a village Guzrial. It is about five Kilometers in the North east of modern Kralpora block of district Kupwara in the Kashmir Valley. But during those days Kupwara (Uttar-Machipura) was a *Tehsil* of District Baramullah and it is the northern part of Kashmir and this northern part of Kashmir was generally called as Kamraj.
2. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p. 158.
3. *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 174.
4. *Kashmir under the Mughals*, op. cit., p.157.
5. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p 175. Turkistan is an area in Asia and in its north there is a Siberiya, in the west there is Bahr-i-Qazar, in the south there is

Muhammad Shareef Hussain he got the highest excellence. He along with Shaikh Halilullah Badakhshani fought many Islamic Battles.[1]

Baba Wali left Khawarism and reached Kashmir in A.H 999 / A.D 1590-91and in Kashmir, he lived in the *khanqah* of Mir Sayyid Ali. On his arrival to Kashmir a large number of people gathered around him and become very popular among the Kashmiri people.[2]

In his period often the nobles and high-ups benefited from him. Some of them are Srijaul Milat, Muwid-ud-din Ar-raz, and Hazrat Khwaja Muhammad Al-Baqi. He is buried in the courtyard of the *Khanqah-i-Ahliya Amiria*. An emperor said him to offer *Nimaz-i-Jinaza* (funeral prayer) of a live man covering him in a coffin. Hazrat Shaikh again and again clearly demanded for the permission of offering of *Nimaz-i-Jinaza*, and then he prayed four *Takbeer's*. The live man when taken out of the coffin he was in death condition. This event is famously known to each common and particular.[3]

In the year A.H 995-99/ AD 1586-1591 there was the turmoil by Mirza Yadgar and the men of Akbar. Hence the dispute reached to its utmost limits. With the result Hazrat Baba Wali personally interfered in the matter and put an end to the battle. Hence on the basis of solution, some of the opponents of religion and Sultanate martyred the Hazrat Shaikh Baba Wali by giving him poison mixing it with syrup on 15th of *Safar* A.H 1101/ A.D 1592. [4]

Khwaja Baqi Billah.

Hazrat Baqi Billah was born in A.H 971/ A.D 1563-64 at Kabul. He was an important Naqashbandi Sufi, through his influence, the Naqashbandi silsila got much popularity and later on arrived in Kashmir and got benefited from the company of

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Afghanistan, India and Tibet and in the east it is spread up to the boundaries of Mughalistan. Now it is divided in between Russia and Chaina. Now the Russian Turkistan includes, Turkistan, Azbikistan, and Tajkistan and the part of the Turkistan that is within the region of Chinese Turkistan is called Sinkianang.

1. *Waqqia-ti-Kashmir* (*Tarikh-i-Kashmir Uzma*), (Urdu tr.), Dr. Khwaja Hamid Yazdani, op. cit., pp. 223-24.
2. *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* op. cit., p.186.
3. *Waqqia-ti-Kashmir* (*Tarikh-i-Kashmir Uzma*), (Urdu tr.), Dr. Khwaja Hamid Yazdani, op. cit., pp. 223-24
4. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 175.

Shaikh Baba Wali. After the death of Baba Wali in 1592, he (Baqi Billah) went to Amkana a village in the vicinity of Samarqand and become the *murid* of Maulana Khwajgi and under his guidance learned the practices of Naqashbandi order, in the three days. Thus Baqi Billah lived in Kashmir for two years and then he left Kashmir and went to Delhi and there he lived till his death on 25 *Jamada* A.H 1012/ 30th November A.D 1630. He lived there for forty years.[1]

The Naqashbandi silsila in the Subah of Kashmir was further flourished under Hazrat Khwaja Khawand Mahmud.

Hazrat Khwaja Khawand Mahmud.

Khwaja khawand Mahmud was the son of Sharif Khwaja who was among the descendants of Ala-ud-Din Atar. But Khwaja Khawand Mahmud was the disciple of Abu Ishaq Dahbedi.[2]

Hazrat Khwaja Khawand Mahmud was among the great *khalifas* of Hazrat Khwaja Bahau'd-Din Naqashband. He was a great saint and due to his extraordinary mystical practices, meditation and knowledge, a large number of people from Mawari Nahar, Badakshan came to him and become his *murid* and this way, the Naqashbandi order penetrated in these regions. He was much expert in performing the various miracles, and was well acquainted in the field of knowledge and talent. He was a great spiritual preceptor, and built a Naqashbandiyyah *khanqah* in Kashmir, and always keenly worked for the welfare of the people.[3]

Hence Khwaja Khawand Mahmud arrived Bukhara at the age of eighteen, for seeking knowledge and he left for Waksh (Tajikistan) at the age of twenty three, in A.H 994 / A.D 1585-86. During the reign of Abdul Momen Khan on Bukhara, he went to Kabul and then reached Kashmir during Jamal Beg's governorship. He was opposed to *Shiasm*, challenged and checked their faith, by preaching orthodox *Sunni* faith in Valley. Then after some time he went to the Mughal court, where he was much accepted and respected by the emperor, again at Jahangir's accession to the throne, he left for Kashmir, in A.H 1015/ A.D 1606-7 from where he sent some of his disciples to Kabul for spreading the Naqashbandi order there and through Mullah

1. *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* op. cit., pp. 185-88.
2. *Kashmir under the Mughals,* op. cit., p. 158.
3. Mohd. Sadiq, *Tabqat-i-Shahjahani,* MS. No. 79, in the Research Library of C.A.S., Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, 1260 A.H., ff. 599-600.

Abdul Hasan Dawud Kashmiri, he tried to propagate Naqasbandi order in the Tibet. Although he claimed to be the direct descendant of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar and Bahau'd-Din Naqashband, but Jahangir put some restrictions on the Khwaja Khawand Mahmud's anti-Shia activities and with the result he left the Kashmir and went to Kabul, deciding not come to Kashmir during the life time of Jahangir. During Shahjahans reign Khwaja again came to Kashmir when there was a *Shia-Sunni* conflict and Khwaja also played main role in the suppression of the *Shias.* Khwaja on behalf of the orders of the Governor of Kashmir had left the Valley and settled at Lahore but guided his son Moin-ud-Din Khawand to propagate Naqashbandi order in Srinagar. Lastly Khwaja passed away from this world on 11 *Shaban*, A.H 1052/ 4 November, A.D 1642 in Lahore and his dead body was buried near Shalimar gardens.[1]

Hazart Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Naqashbandi.

He was the son and *khalifa* (successor) of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud. He also went to Northern India along with his father but when Khawand Mahmud left for Lahore, then, Mouin-ud-Din became the *Sajada-Nashin* to the *Khanqah-i-*Naqashbandiyyah in Srinagar, to guide the Naqashbandiyyah order in Kashmir. He maintained the *khanqah* and was very much respected by the Ulama. He was of the 18th century great Naqashbandi Sufi. Besides holding the inner piousness, apparently he was very much handsome and well mannered. When Aurangzeb saw Moin-ud-Din he (Aurangzeb) became much impressed by his personality. Many of the Ulama of the period used to meet him. Mullah Muhammad Tahir son of Maulana Haidar, Mullah Abdul Fatah Kalu, Mullah Yousf, Mullah Muhammad Mufti, Mullah Abdun-Nabi and Mullah Shaikh Ahmad Mufti were well acquainted with him and with the help of these associate Ulama, jointly prepared a book called *Fatawa-i-Naqashbandiyyah*. Besides it, he also wrote *Mirat-i-Tayiba* a biography of his father.[2] Many other treatises like *Kanz-ul-Saddat*, *Maratt-ul-Qulub*, *Sair Khar-ul-Bashria* etc. were also compiled by him. Hazrat Khwaja Moin-ud-Din passed away at the age of 70 years, in *Muharum* 5, A.H 1078/ AD 1667 and is buried in the lawn of the *Khanqah-i-*

1. *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* op. cit., pp. 183-85.
2. *Tuhfatul-Fuqra,* (ed.), Dr. Saiyda Ruqiah,, op. cit., pp. 100-1.

Naqashbandiyyah at Srinagar. After his death the responsibility of the looking after the *khanqah* was taken by his wife and Khwaja Abdul Hakim as supervisor.[1]

Khwand Mullah Kamal.

He was the brother of Maulana Jamal. A great religious preceptor, ascetic, and God fearing man, he was a contemporary of Mughal emperor Akbar and was a Naqashbandiyyah saint. He was the disciple of Hazrat Abdul Sahid Naqashbandi Ahrari who was among the descendants of Hazrat Ubaidullah Ahrar.[2] Maulana Kama-ud-Din Bin Musa in A.H 971/ AD 1563-1564 left Kashmir for Lahore. Maulana Kamal Kashmiri had perfect knowledge of logic and philosophy, and was a great scholar. Hazrat Mujadad Alfi Sani Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi also met Mullah Kamal in Lahore, and received knowledge from him. Maulana Kamal passed away from this world in A.H 1017/ A.D 1599 and is buried there in Lahore.[3]

Khwaja Haidar Natinoo.

He was the son of Khwaja Firoz, who was among the disciples of Khwaja Abdul Sahid Naqashbandi. At the age of seven he started to perform meditation and to follow the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (PBUH). In the initial stage he acquired knowledge and the principles of Naqashbandiyyah order from Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi. Later on he became the *murid* of Hazrat Khwaja Maulana Johar. And lastly he got benefited from Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhadis Dehlavi in Qadiri order and reached to the utmost stages of knowledge and progress.[4] He refused the *mansab* of Qazi, offered to him by the rulers of the state. And left the city and returned only when the *mansab* of Qazi had been granted to some other person. He passed away from this world in A.H 1057/ A.D 1649.[5] He was buried at Gujwara in Srinagar in the *astan* (mausoleum) of his ancestors.

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1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 281-82.
2. Ibid., p. 191.
3. Maulana Sayyid Abul Hassan Ali Nadwi, *Tawarikh-i-Dawat-wa-Ayezmat* Vol. 4, Lacknow, 1980, p. 139.
4. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. pp. 235-36. Also see *Tabqat-i-Shahjahani*, MS No. 79, Research Library of CAS, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, 1260 A.H/ 1844., ff. 310. But Moin-ud-Din Miskeen writes about the above saint as Khwaja Haidar Natinoo Charkhi and he also gives same information for details, see Moin-ud-Din Miskeen, *Tarikh-i- Kabir-i-Kashmir*, Lacknow, 1902, p. 196.
5. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 236.

Mullah Husain Haji Ganai.

He lived in the adjacent area of Jama Masjid of Srinagar, and was a teacher in the Naqashbandi *khanqah* of Malik Jalalud-Din Thakur. Khwaja Haidar acquired knowledge from Mullah Husain. Hence in the Naqashbandiyyah silsila he was the disciple of Khwaja Hasan Qari who in turn was the *khalifa* of Ahrari saints, Hazrat Makhdum. But he never met to Khwaja Abdul Shahid in case of Naqashbandi order.[1]

Mullah Husain Ganai was a great *Alim* on *'Farid-i-Asar'* of the period, many students got benefited from him and in 1643 A.D he breathed his last and was buried in the *madrasa* of Malik Jalal-ud-Din Thakur at Srinagar.[2]

Haji Mustafa Rumi Naqashbandi.

He was a great Naqashbandi Sufi saint of the 18th century. Originally he was from Turkey and whose indirectly connection was with the *murids* of Hazrat Shaikh Taj Mecci, a *khalifa* of Hazrat Khwaja Abdul Baqi. He came with the purpose to visit in the Valley of Kashmir as a tourist. He remained busy in meditation for some time in the adjacent area of Saraf-Kadal *mohallah* of Srinagar where a *majzoob* named Ann-Shah was also present. There in a garden he built a house and a *khanqah* and settled till the last stage of his life. He was a great ascetic, and performed mystical exercises during the night hours. Many people like Khwaja Abdur Razaq who was famous *Wali* of that period and Abdul Gani Langar were his *murids* and they acquired knowledge from him. After death of Mustafa Rumi his dead body was buried in the above mentioned garden.[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 235.
2. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 293-94.
3 *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 282. Also see *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 209. ; Shaikh Muhammad Murad Taing Kashmiri Majaddadi (A.H 1056-1131/ A.D 1646-1719), *Tuhfatul-Fuqra,* (*Tahqiq-wa-tanqid, sahi-matan,* ed.), Dr. Saiyda Ruqiah, Srinagar, 1997, p. 107. The word Turky here is used for the Rome. And the name Hazrat Khwaja Abdul Baqi here represents Hazrat Khwaja Baqi Billah. However there is doubt in the term Ann-Shah in its print, hence the correct one is Dane Shah. Mustafa Rumi did not have any one as his *murid*. He was very hard worker, mystic and ascetic Naqashbandi Sufi. The Baj word added as the Sufi title and Khwaja Abdur Razaq Baj was buried in the Gujwara area of Srinagar. He acquired guidance from Haji Mustafa Rumi. Whereas Abdul Gani Langar was great Sufi and he had a deep knowledge about *Shriat, Tarikat,* and *Marafat*. He lived a life of more than 70 years age. cf. Khwaja Mohd. Azim Diddmari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 840.

Sufi Mahmud Naqashbandi.

He was among the *khilifas* (successors) of Hazrat Sirhind. Later he benefited from Hazrat *Auru-tul-Vusqa* Shaikh Muhammad Masoom Sirhindi who gave Mahmud Naqashbandi the supervision of Shaikh Abdullah also called Abal Bayu, for his guidance. He was very ascetic and hard worker in the religious activities.[1] He was fond of *Sama* and was also having a very handsome personality. But he never built any house, and as a great Naqashbandi Sufi worked for the welfare of his friends. He had a Mughal origin, and mostly used the shoes made-up of grass even both in the rainy and snowy season. He lived very simple life and at his death was buried near the grave of Haji Adham in the *mazar, mohallah* Malarta outside the Koh-i-Maran Srinagar.[2]

Shaikh Musa Tashwani Naqashbandi.

He was a contemporary of Aurangzeb. Shaikh Musa Tashwani Naqashbandi was the *murid* of Hazrat Akhwand Mullah Nazik.[3] A renowned Naqashbandiyyah Sufi, he had a very spiritual power and had high status in showing the miraculous power. He was buried in the *mohallah* Tashwan that is famous with name of Kalamdanpura.[4]

Hazrat Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi Naqashbandi.

He was the contemporary of Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah A.H 1113 /AD 1701-1702. Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi a descendents of Khwaja Ahmad Alwi Turkistani. He was a great Sufi who travelled widely and many Islamic countries like Arabia, Bat-ul-Muqadis, Sham (Syria) and Baghdad (Iraq). Then he arrived in India where

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1. Ibid., p. 318. *Aru-tul-wusqah* Hazrat Mohammad Masum Farooqi was the son and *Khalifa* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. It is said about him that Mughal emperor Aurangzeb had become his *murid*. His *Khulifas* were found in the Kabul, Peshawar, and up to the Nungarh Har. And one of his *Khulifas* settled in Sham (Syria) and there he propagated the Naqqashbandi order. Shaikh Mohammad Masoom passed away from this world, in the year A.H 1079/ AD 1668-1669 and was buried at Sirhind. cf. Dedmeri, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 834. ; Shaikh Abdullah was also called as Abal Bayu by the Kashmiri people originally he was among *Khulifas* of Hazrat Ahkhwand Mahndi Ali Kubravi, He was a great ascetic. He was very much interested in *Sama*. He spent his life with his close associates and friends and never felt the need to build his own house.
2. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 174-75. Earlier in Kashmir some people used to wear the shoes made by the grass of Shali (paddy) and in Kashmir for such type of shoes were given the term *Palah-Hur* in the Kashmiri language.
3. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 319.
4. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 222.

from he came to the Valley of Kashmir. First he lived at Koh-i-Maran at the *mazar* of Mirza Sher Beg Mullah Shahi but after some time one of the Naqashbandi saints named Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad Naqashbandi (who was very much influenced by the miraculous power of Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi), called the Khwaja Ahmad and gave him a piece of land for residential purposes near his house. Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din, died in his life time and his *khalifa,* Khwaja Nour-ud-Din Muhammad Aftab also learned some Naqashbandi practices and methods from Khwaja Ahmad. Many other people also entered in the circle of Naqashbandi order. He died on Friday on 3 *Zul Hajja,* A.H 1114/ AD 1702-1703 was buried outside the tomb of Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Naqashbandi.[1]

Hazrat Shaikh Muhammad Murad (Taung).

He was the son of great *Alim* called Mullah Muhammad Tahir Mufti and was born in A.H 1050 / AD 1640-1641.[2] He continued meditation and mystical practices and then he made Shah Majzoob his associate and guide. During those days Shaikh Abdul Ahad Farooqi Sarhindi, the grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, arrived in Kashmir. Shaikh Muhammad Murad through Sayyid Sharif Rahoni appeared before his *Pir-o-murshid* Shaikh Abdul Ahad Sirhindi. Shaikh Murad learned the *Ilem-i-Tariqat* (spiritual knowledge) from his *Pir* Shaikh Abdul Ahad. In the year AH 1081/ AD 1670-1671 Shaikh Murad in the company of his preceptor left Kashmir for Sirhind, than on the advice of his *pir* and completed the training of Naqashbandi order, and returned to Kashmir.[3]

After three or four years he again went to Sirhind to see his *Pir* but he found him in Shahjahanabad at Delhi, where he also met Hazrat Hujatullah Khwaja Muhammad Naqashbandi, who had just returned from the pilgrimage of Mecca and Medina and thus got benefited from him. Once again he returned to Kashmir, there he met Shaikh Muhammad Ali Raza who was on a visit of Kashmir in these days and Shaikh Muhammad Murad was granted permission in *Tariqa-i-Kubraviyyah,* Suhrawardiyyah, and also of these orders in Chishtiyyah, benefited spiritual

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 337-38. Also see Shaikh Muhammad , *Tuhfatul-Fuqra*, (ed.), Dr. Saiyda Ruqiah, op. cit., p. 166.
2. Ibid., p. 375. He was not only a great Naqashbandi Sufi but was also a great historian. He is the author of a very important manuscript called '*Tuhfatul Fuqra'*.
3. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

knowledge.[1] Again he got knowledge of mystical practices, about Qadiriyyah order from Shah Muhammad Fazal, and in turn taught the later, the teachings, principles and mystical practices of Naqashbandiyyah order.[2] Some women also learned the mystic ways of Naqashbandiyyah order from Shaikh Muhammad Murad Naqashband.[3]

Khwaja Muhammad Azam a famous historian of Kashmir became *murid* of Shaikh Muhammad Murad lived with him for about 12 years. Muhammad Murad's other *khulifas* were Shaikh Abdul Sabure Bustil, Shaikh Muhammad Yousf Kant, Mir Abdur Rashid Bahaqi, Mir Abdul Wahab, Shaikh Abdullah and Maulvi Abdul Fateh Gani, Haji Muhammad who was a cousin of Persian poet Mullah Tahir Gani etc.[4]

Shaikh Murad Naqashbandi died in A.H 1131/ AD 1718-1719 at the age of 75 years, was buried at the *mohallah* Buddahgir on the Sokalipur rout near to his own house.[5] Besides *Tuhfatul Fuqra* the other treatises written by Shaikh Muhammad Murad, are *Habil-i-matin*, *Hasanatul Mukkarabin*, *Fuwad-i-Razzyia* and *Risala Asrar-i-wahdat*, but now only *Habil-i-matin* is available.[6]

Hazrat Khwaja Haji Ubidullah Naqashbandi.

He was too the contemporary of Diddamari and originally belonged to the Balkh. He was a great saint and preferred to live all alone, did not met people, mostly remained in his closed room, even that he travelled widely to many countries, performed *Hajj* (pilgrimage) for 17 times. He visited Kashmir thrice. He firstly during the last days of Aurangzeb, and secondly during the early stage of Muhammad Muazzam Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. In A.H 1119-20/ A.D 1707-1708 Muhammad Azam Diddamari met him. After about eight years on hearing about Shaikh Malakute Parwaz Khwaja Shah Niyaz who was called to Peshawar by Bahadur Shah, he went to Peshawar to see him, but did not find him there, so he again returned to Kashmir. Then he went to Arabia and after many years he returned to Balkh, from where due to unsuitable circumstances, he in A.H 1132 / A.D 1719-1720 once again returned to Kashmir, stayed there for about more than five years. However, he was well trained in

1. Ibid., p. 375. See also *Tuhfatul-Fuqra Wa-Auliya*, (ed.), Dr. Saiyda Ruqiah, op. cit., p. 26.
2. *Tuhfatul-Fuqra Wa-Auliya*, (ed.) Dr. Saiyda Ruqiah, op. cit., p. 27.
3. Ibid., p. 27.
4. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
5. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 376.
6. *Tuhfatul-Fuqra Wa-Auliya*, (ed.), Saiyda Ruqiah, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

all aspects of *Haqiqat* and Naqashbandiyyah order. He then settled in Srinagar, but due to some uncomforted reasons he in A.H 1137 / A.D 1724-1725 went to Arabia after performing *Hajj* at Medina he fell ill and in A.H 1139 / A.D 1726-1727, he passed away and was buried in Medina (Arabia). After four months of his death, that news reached in Srinagar.[1]

Hazrat Khwaja Nour-ud-din Muhammad Aftab Naqashbandi.

He was the son of Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ibn-i-Khwaja Sharf-ud-Din ibn-i-Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Naqashbandi. Muhammad Aftab Naqashbandi right from his young age had acquired religious knowledge and performed the mystical practices and *wazaif* essential for the learners. The preaching practices *(waz)* he got permission from Hazrat Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi. After the death of his father, Aftab Naqashbandi tried his best to perform and to follow all the ways (*tariqas)* of the Naqashbandiyyah order. His fame increased day to day with his inner aspects of Naqashbandi spirituality. In this way Naqashbandiyyah order remained flourishing in the middle of the 18th century. Born in A.H 1088/ A.D 1677-1678 and lived for 72 years and in the year A.H 1156 / A.D 1743-1744, he passed away from this world.[2]

The Chishtiyyah Order.

The Chishtiyyah order was first founded by Shaikh Abu Ishaq Shami who came to Chisht some time before 260 AH/ 873-74 AD from Syria.[3] *Chisht* in Persian term *Kisht*, is a small village also called Khwaja Chisht on the river Hari Rud, 100 kilometers from east of Herat and is the first Chishtiyyah Sufi center now in the modern Afghanistan.[4] However, in India the Chishti order was introduced by Hazrat Khwaja Moinud-Din Chishti (1140-1236), who performed service to humanity (*khidmat khalq*) for more than 40 years (1185-1236) at Ajmer which was the hub of political and religious activities in the closing years of the 12th century. It was because of his piousness, generosity, humanism, that such a large number of people got converted and attracted towards him and Islam.[5] He was a great Sufi of Middle Ages, migrated from Khurasan to the Indian subcontinent and preached Islam the gospel of

1 . *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.) *Tazkira-i-Auliy-i-Kashmir*, Part II., op. cit., pp. 296-98. Also see *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 402-3.
2. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 441.
3. *A History of Sufism in India,* Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 114-15.
4. Ibid., p. 114.
5. *The Chishti Shrine of Ajmer, Pirs, Pilgrims, Practices,* op. cit., p. 1

love. He was the *khalifah* of Khwaja Usman Havani Chishti of Nishapur.[1] Khwaja Moinuddin left this world around 1235-36 and was buried at a place where he used to spend most of his time in meditation at Ajmer.[2]

The Chishti order like the Naqashbandi order penetrated and flourished in the Subah of Kashmir during the Mughal rule, but could not gain much fame in comparison to other Sufi orders specially that of Naqashbandi order.[3]

According to Abdul Majid, "It was Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, who organized the *silsila* in Subah."[4] **Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi** was the son of Hazrat Hasan Ganai Asmi a great man, who was also an employ in the royal service, and held jagirs.[5] Shaikh Yaqub belonged to the 'Asami clan, who traces their origin from 'Asim the son of the 2nd Caliph Hazrat Umar Faruq. He was the second son of his father Hasan having seven sons.[6] Born in A.H. 928 / A.D. 1520-21, at Srinagar,[7] he (Sarfi) memorized the the entire *Holy Qur'an* at the age of seven Moinu'd-Din Miskin states.[8]

Mullah Akhwand Basir and Moulana Muhammad Anni were the two great teachers of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi. Mullah Akhwand Basir was also an *alim-i-Din* of that period, but Moulana Muhammad Anni was the student of the famous Iranian Sufi poet Abdur Rahman Jami (d. 1492 A.D). He bestowed the title to Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi of *"Jami Sani"* the second Jami.[9] Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi along with four other companions travelled via Banihal and reached Samarqand where he became *murid* of Hazrat Makhdum Alim (Shaikh Husain Khawarzmi) of Kubravi order and after some stay, in Samarqand he returned to his home land i.e., Kashmir where a large number of people came to him for the sake of benefit.[10]

After a long stay in Kashmir, Sarfi again decided to see his preceptor Shaikh Husain Khawarzmi (Hazrat Makhdum-i-Alim), who was then in Khurasan. But when he reached Khurasan, he found that Shaikh Husain had gone on pilgrimage (*Haj*).

1. *A History of Sufism in India*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 116.
2. Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehalvi, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, Delhi, 1914, pp. 24-25.
3. *Kashmir under the Mughals 1586-1752*, op. cit., p. 159.
4. Ibid.
5. *Jami-al-Kamalat Hazrat Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi-Shaksiat-o-fun.*, op. cit., p. 19
6. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 358.
7. Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, (Urdu tr.), *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 176.
8. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 171.
9. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 176. Also see: *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir*, op. cit., p. 155.
10. Ibid., pp. 176-77. ; *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kahmir*, op. cit., p. 171.

Therefore, he decided to go to Mecca for the purpose of pilgrimage, as well as to meet his *pir*. On his way to Mecca along with a *caravan*, he got benefitted from a number of great Sufis and *mashaikh*, such as Abi Sayyid Muemar Habshi, and Mashid *mukadis* Rizvia.[1] He also advised to the Shah Tehmasap[2] the ruler of Iran that there should be no exploitation of Sunnis by the hands of the Shias in Iran. In Baghdad he got '*Jubbah mubarak'* of Imam-i-Abu Hanfia[3] and also met Shaikh Salim Chishti (d. A.H. 979 / A.D. 1571) of India to whom he inspired for the Chishti silsila. In Mecca he met to Shaikh Ibn-i-Hijar[4] and stayed there in his seminary for some period.[5] Shaikh Ibn-i-Hijar gave a license (Degree) of *muhaddis* to Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, to give instructions in the traditions of Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) and clad in the robes of Shaikh. Thus during his travel he not only met several Shaikhs of Persia and Arabia and got benefited from them but also enrolled disciples even in India.[6]

However, Shaikh Yaqub used to spend his much time in the company of scholars like Badauni and Faizi noted scholars of the court of Akbar. Sarfi also paid glowing tribute to Faizi's commentary on the *Qur'an* entitled *Swati'u'l ilham*. Around 1594 Sarfi returned to Kashmir from Lahore and wrote a letter to Badauni in which he mentioned about his company with Faizi:

"As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send you, although owing to their not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder-describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth any submission to you. I hope that whenever

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1. **Mashid *mukadis* Rizvia** is the Ziarat of Ali Abn-i-Musa Qazim Abn-i-Jafar Sdiq who was the eighth Imam of the Asna-i-Ashri Shias. He was born in Medina, on AH 153 / AD 770 and died in the year A.H. 203 / AD 818-819. His tom is in Mashid (Iran).
2. Tehmasap was an Iranian Safawi emperor who was the son of Shah Ismail of Iran. However the emperor was born in village named Aswahan in the year A.H 919/ AD 1513-1514, in A.H 930/ AD 1523-1524, he ascended the throne and in the year AH 984 he passed away from this world. He was Shia emperor very tyrant to the Sunnies of his time. Humayun the son of Babur, after his defeate from Sher Shah Suri went in the Darbar of emperor Tehmasap to get refuge wthin security.
3. **Imam-i-Abu Hanfia** Hazrat-i-Naoman Bin Zooti was born in Kufa in the year A.H 80/ AD 699-700 and passed away in the year in 150 A.H/ 767-768 A.D at Baghdad. He was one of the great Imams in Islam.
4. **Shaikh Ibn-i-Hajir** was born in the year A.H 909/ AD 1503-1504 at Egypt and died at Mecca in A.H 973/ AD 1565-1566. He was amongst one of the Muhaddises. See also Maulana Sayid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Tawarikh-i-Dawat-wa-Ayezmat*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 159.
5. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 177. Also see: *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 171-72.
6. Abdul Qadir Baduni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, (ed. & tr.), T. Wolsely Haig Vol. III, Delhi, Rep. 1973, p. 200.

you sit in the Nawab Faizi-Fayyazi's apartment of fragment grass, on the floor with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmir, in the mid-day heat of summer, drinking the water which although warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation [of Faizi], you will think of me, the captive of the hardships of disappointments."[1]

It is noteworthy to mention that Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (*Mujaddid-i-Sani*) had also learnt the knowledge of *Tasawwuf* (mysticism) and *Hadith* (traditions of the Prophet S.A.W.) from Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi during his stay in India.[2]

Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi was not only a great Sufi saint but was also a prominent *alim-i-Din, muhaddis,* and a poet.[3] He was a great Persian poet and used his *takhallus* "*nom de plume*" as Sarfi[4] He himself was a prolific writer and had written many treatises like, *Tafsir-Maslak-ul-Akhyar, Wamiq-u-'Azra, Layla-Majnun, Maaghaz'in-Nabi, Maqamat-i-Murshid* etc. All these treatises forms his *Khamsa* as already referred to him by Maulana Jami. Besides these, the other works of Sarfi are *Manaisik-i-Hajj, Sharh* (commentary) of the *Sahih Bukhari*, *Tafsir* of the last two chapters of the *Holy Qur'an* and *Risala-i-Azkar* etc.[5]

Shaikh Yaqub during his travelling and stay outside the Kashmir in the various countries, had collected huge amount of written material on religious sciences and books on *Hadith, Tafseer* (commentary on the verses of the *Qur'an*), *Fiqh* etc. established a large library in the Valley of Kashmir for the benefit of scholars.[6] Finally he breathed his last at the age of 75 on 12 *Zilqada* A.H. 1003 / A.D. 1595. He was buried at Srinagar, and his shrine is located on the west side of the river Jhelum in *mohalla* Zaina Kadal and is famous with *"Ziarat-i-Ashaian."*[7] However, the other Sufis of the Chishtiyyah Order are discussed as below.

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1. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. 141.
2. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. II, op. cit., p. 363.
3. *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh,* (tr.), op. cit., p. 16.
4. Ibid., p. 200.
5. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 178.
6. *Jami-al-Kamalat Hazrat Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi-Shaksiat-o-fun.*, op. cit., p. 45.
7. *Tarikh-i-Hasan Vol. III,* (Urdu tr), *Tazkira-i-Auliyae-i-Kashmir,* Part. II, op. cit, p. 132. Also see: *Jami-al-Kamalat Hazrat Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi-Shaksiat-o-fun.*, op. cit., p. 46.

Hazrat Shaikh Ismail Chishti.

He belonged to the merchant class of the city. A contemporary of Mughal emperor Akbar, he was the disciple of Hazrat Mullah Jamal. From at early he was inclined to acquire the basic knowledge for that he went to India, and in search of more knowledge he travelled many countries of the world. Shaikh Ismail received knowledge in many fields under the tutorship of Maulana Jamal-ud-Din. Then he went to Shaikh Nourullah also called Hazrat Shaikh-i-Khudah-Agah-Nour-ud-Din Chishti [RA], who was among the great Sufis of *Hazrat-i-Chisht* (the Chishti *pirs* of Chisht) and also enrolled in the Chishtiyyah *tariqa* by him. Further he enjoyed the company of Hazrat Mir Abdullah Bulkhi, on his orders he returned back to Kashmir. He had lived a very simple and disciplined life. Both Diddamari and Hasan, Kashmiri scholars writes, that he (Shaikh Ismail Chishti) lived for twelve years in a *madarasa* as a teacher, where there was a grape plant from which a drop of water poured on the page of his book. He was so lost in meditation that he never knew it but only he asked that where from this water had come. After it, he was informed by the students of the *madrasa* that there is a grape plant from where this drop of water had fallen on his book page un till that time he was unaware about that very plant because his head always bowed down because of his simplicity and greatness.[1]

Later in Kashmir he lived with complete retirement and resignation and even as a teacher and learned knowledge he performed the *maraqba* and *mushahida*. He breathed his last on 10th of *Muharamul- Haram* A.H 1007/ AD 1598-99 and was buried not far from the tomb of Qazi Musa Shahid, and is quite close to the grave of Maulna Jamal located in *mohallah* Khuwa.[2]

Miyan Muhammad Hasham Chishti.

He too belonged to the merchant class of Kashmir. In his youth he travelled to Patna, to Hazrat Miyan Yahya and become his *murid*. In fact, Miyan Yahya Chishti Kashmiri was the son of Miyan Hussain who belonged to the tribe of *Kotwals* (the village head men), and was a *murid* of Baba Nasib-ud-Din. But one day Nasib-ud-Din told him, “that you cannot find your *nasib* from Nasib.” Here the first *nasib* means

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1 . *Tazkira-i-Auliy-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., Part II, pp. 153-54. Also see *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., pp. 192-3.

2 *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 175.

luck, and from the next Nasib was the indication for himself. He asked Miyan Husain to go to Patna but as on the orders of his preceptor, he went to Patna, but found no saint there, he returned back to Nasib-ud-Din, and informed him that he could not found any saint there. But Nasib-ud-Din again directed him to cross the river, and there you will find him, on the other side of the river, at Hajipur. Miyan Husain then again went to Patna and on the other side of the river there he found a Shah Tamkin at Hajipur, who agreed to guide him in matter of religion. He also acquired spiritual knowledge from Shah Tamkin and also married because of the persuasion by Shah Tamkin. After a long period of his stay with his *Pir-o-murshid* he got permission from him and returned to his mother-land and decided to settle at Khaniyar in Srinagar. He continued all the mystical practices and *zikr* which he had practiced under the guidance of his *Pir*. After his marriage he had his offspring's daughters and sons, and for them he built a house and a *khanqah,* where rest of his life he preached the righteous path, (*Tariqat*) to his descendants and followers.[1]

However, in A.H 1124/ A.D 1712-1713 Inayatullah Khan had come to Kashmir, who governed it for nine months and spent a good amount of money on the expenditure of above mentioned *khanqah.* However, Miyan Muhammad Hashim Chishti Khaniyari breathed his last in the year A.H 1118/ A.D 1706-1707 and his dead body was buried in the adjoining area of his house.[2]

Shaikh Ali Muhammad Chishti.

He was also a great Chishti saint who belonged to Sultanpur (U.P). After acquiring mystic practices and spiritual knowledge he arrived in Kashmir. He was also a great *Alim* and *Fazal,* and settled permanently there, and spent most of his life in mystical practices and *Tawakkul-Alallah* (trust in God). As a Chishti Sufi, he was very much interested in *Sama* and often used to hear *Sufiana kalam* with music and in the condition that of rapture he used to cry and became ecstatic. He also wrote a treatise on *Tawhid* (Unity), and died in. 1084 A.H / 1673-1674 A.D.[3]

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1. *Tuhfatul-Fuqra Wa-Auliya*, (ed.), Dr. Saiyda Ruqiah (*Taqhqiq wa-tanqid, sahi-matan*) , op. cit., pp. 138-39.
2. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,,* op. cit., p. 347 He was the contemporary saint of the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah.
3. *Tuhfatul-Fuqra Wa-Auliya*, (ed.),, op. cit., pp. 148-59.

Hazrat Shaikh Muhammad Chishti.

He was also called by the people with the name of *Radhu*. He belonged to the tribe of Khwaja Rafiq Ashai. The early education he received from Maulana Charkhi, later on, he came into contact with Shaikh Ali Muhammad Chishti. He was well trained in *Tariqat,* and strictly followed *Shriat* as well. He was very fond of different practices and preferred *tawakul* in God, and held high status in mystical exercises among his contemporaries. He adopted the profession of teacher was also a prolific writer. He hated the worldly fame. He practiced *Zikr-i-Jahar* as per the Chishtiyyah tradition. He also advised and guided his close associates to follow the Chishtiyyah tradition of *Zikr-i-Jahar (Zahar).* It is claimed that he had composed about one lac verses on *Ilm-i-Tasawwuf* (Sufism) and had also many treatises in prose. It was Shaikh Muhammad Chishti during whose time the '*Mu-i-Muqaddas*' (the sacred hair) of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was brought to Kashmir during the Aurangzeb's reign (1658-1707), in 1699 A.D. He lived a long life of more than eighty years. He passed away from this world on 16th of *Shawal* A.H 1126/ AD 1714-1715 and was buried in the *mohallah* of Bagh-i-Yousf close to his house.[1] The holy relic was brought by a rich Kashmiri merchant named Khwaja Nur-ud-Din Ishbari from Bijapur.[2]

Hazrat Shaikh Abdur Rehman Chishti.

He was also a great *Wali-ullah* and was the son of a famous saint Shaikh Bahram Qadiri, initially was guided by his father. And after some time he went to India while as at Thanaser he met to Hazrat Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din, and became his disciple and got permission from him as he had benefited from him in receiving spiritual knowledge. After returning from India he also propagated Chishtiyyah order in Kashmir, and involved himself in mystical practices, meditation and also guided his

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1. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* (*Tazkira-i-Auliy-i-Kashmir),* op. cit., Part. II., pp. 390-91.
2 Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Prospectives on Kashmir Historical Dimensions*, Srinagar, 1983, p. 46; It is claimed that a gentle man Sayyid Abdullah named brought *Mui-i-Muqaddas* (sacred hair) of the Prophet (S.A.W.) from Arabia to Hindustan during the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din Shah Jahan. The emperor tried to investigate the reality of the *Mu-i-Muqaddas*. And after investigation the Ulama declared it as the rare hair of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). With the result the Emperor Shah Jahan rewarded Sayyid Abdullah with great honour, and it remained under the supervision of Sayyid, till the end of Shah Jahan's reign. But it was during the time of Aurangzeb *Mu-i-Muqadas* was brought to Kashmir along with a Kashmiri Merchant Khwaja Nur-ud-Din Ishai. Cf., Dr. M.S Naz, *Tasweer-i-Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1993, pp. 292-93

followers in the religious activities. And after his death, his dead body was buried near the grave of his father.[1]

Hazrat Shah Afzal Chishti.

He was a great saint of his time. He gave up the worldly desires and was having good qualities and spent much of his time in the worship of God. He was such a pious man that he used to write the *Holy Qur'an* by his own hand for earning, and to meet his needs. After his death, his dead body was buried in the Kalashpora.[2]

Hazrat Shaikh Dawud Chishti.

He was the brother and *khalifa* of Hazrat Jan Muhammad Hasham. Shaikh Dawud was a great Sufi, God fearing of the highest order and an excellent man.[3]

Hazrat Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din Chishti.

He was the son and *khalifa* of Shaikh Abdur Rehman Chishti. Shaikh Jal-ud-Din often lived in the state of ecstasy in love with God. Hasan a renowned Kashmiri historian writes that one day Shaikh Jal-ud-Din fell unconscious, when he was in Baramullah at one of his *khadims* (attendants) house. The people felt that he died and they buried him but in the next morning when his mother came to his grave, and opened the grave, the Shaikh talked to her but requested not to disclose this secret and I will daily meet you. Hence he always used to come to his mother till his mother's death.[4]

Hazrat Shaikh Mahmud Chishti.

He was the son of Hazrat Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din Chishti. He become the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Chishti and got spiritual knowledge and guidance from him. He spent his life in *Ibadah* (worship), *Riazat* (mystical practices) and *Majahdah* (struggle). He was a great saint and after his death he was buried in the Baramullah district of Kashmir.[5]

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1. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* (*Tazkira-i-Auliy-i-Kashmir),* op. cit., Part. II., p. 392
2. Ibid., p. 413
3. Ibid., p. 415
4. Ibid., p. 430.
5. Ibid., p. 557.

Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Karim Chishti.

He was the *murid* of Hazrat Shaikh Muhammad Chishti. He was both apparently and internally a great saint. Many miracles attributed to him. Hassan 19th century Kashmiri historian had discussed two of them, as once Shaikh Abdul Karim Chishti was going towards Jama Masjid in a heavy rainfall but after reaching Jama Masjid no one found even a single drop of water on his clothes. Another event about him is that once there was famine. So, Abdul Karim Chishti put one *'maund'* of rice in a pot of which he daily took out the rice and he ate the rice throughout the year, but people found the pot was yet full of one *'maund'* rice on the end of the year. He was a great *Wali-ullah*. His main motive was only to worship God. Later on when he passed away from this world his dead body was buried at Baghwanpora.[1]

Kubravi Order.

After the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, the Kubravi order was also introduced by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani in the second half of the 14th century A.D.[2] However by the last years of 16th century the Kubravi order almost moved towards disintegration, though Baba Ismail tried his level best to reorganize the *silsila* but was not successful.[3]

Shaikh Musa Bladmari Kubravi.

He was a Kubraviyyah Sufi of the Jahangir's period, for seeking the religious knowledge he travelled many countries and also performed *Hajj*. Later on he moved to Kashmir and become the *murid* of Shakh Baba Wali. After his death, in the dream Baba Wali ordered, Shaikh Musa to go to Shaikh Halilullah who was among the great *khulfas* of Shaikh Husain Khawarzami. But when he reached Balkh, Musa Bladmari heard that Shaikh Halilullah had already died. There he by Divine help Musa Bladmari met Shaikh Paiyada. And from Shaikh Paiyda he learnt all the Kubravi practices and got benefited from him. He returned to Kashmir and settled at Bladmar *mohallah* in Srinagar where he built a *khanqah* and flourished the Kubravi order.

1. Ibid., pp. 557-58. *'Maund'* was a Kashmiri scale for weight. One Kashmiri *Trak* = 8 *Sers* (of Akbar) = 4 Kashmiri *Mans*; 1 Kashmiri *Man* = 4 Kashmiri *Sers*; 1 Kashmiri *Se*r = 7 ½ *Pals. The Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.) H. Blochman, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 90.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srinagar, 1974, p. 58.
3. *Kashmir under the Mughals (1586-1752)*, op. cit., p. 160.

Diddamari states about him that when he used to perform *Tahajud Namaz,* about 100 people were used to follow him. However in the year A.H 1026 / A.D 1617 he passed away from this world and was buried above the Baba Walis tomb in the khanqah-Mohallah.[1]

Baba Abdun Nabi Qubravi.

He was a great Sufi of Aurangzeb's period. He was the son of Baba Nazuk Kubravi. He was an ascetic person. The daughter of Akhawand Mullah Mahdi Ali Noushari was married to him. Abul-Nabi Kubravi enlightened himself from the spiritual lights from Akhwand Mullah Mahdi Ali Noushari.[2]

He was a well behaved, well dressed person and he had very much interested in *Sama*, music and dancing. He had also well acquainted with religious personalities of the time. [3] Moinu-ud-Din gave him the name as Baba Ghulam Nabi Qubravi and he further writes that he played a vital role in the propagation Kubravi order in Kashmir. He was buried in the adjoining areas of Khanqah-Mohallah at Srinagar in the campus of the *Astan-i-Kubraviyyah*.[4]

Akhwand Mahdi Ali Kubravi.

Akhwand Mahdi Ali was the *khalifa* of Khwaja Habibullah Noushari. He was a great Sufi saint and a great *Wali-ullah* of impressive nature. And he had high status ascetics and used most of his time in meditation and in performing mystical exercises. Mir Shams-ud-Din was another *khalifa* of Khwaja Habibullah Noushari, and had a *murid* who was a *Bazzaz* (cloth merchant) by profession. However one day this *Bazzaz* sent a *kharwar* of rice to the house of his *Pir* Mir Shams-ud-Din, by the hands of a coolie but by mistake the coolie took this rice to Akhwand instead of Mir Shams-

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 210, See also *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 180-81. However Abdul Majid Mattoo in his book, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, had mentioned on page 168, foot note No. 74 that, "Shaikh –Musa Bladmari was famous Kubravi Saint of his time. After his return from Mecca he joined the Naqashbandi silsila, but it is not correct, he should have consulted the above mentioned Urdu translation of *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*. It is quite clear that Shaikh Musa Bladmari up to his last years flourished Kubraviyyah order throughout the city of Srinagar and preached Kubravi Tariqa at his *khanqah* in Srinagar.
2. Ibid., p. 315. ; see also *Tuhfatul-Fuqra Wa-Auliya*,Taqhqiq wa-tanqid, sahi-matan, (ed.), Dr. Saiyda Ruqiah, op. cit., pp. 182-83.
3. Ibid.
4. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 219-20.

ud-Din. As Akhwand received this one Kharwar of rice and said to the coolie that there is no difference between Akhwand and Mir but on one hand he received this Kharwar of rice on the other hand he also informed the Shams-ud-Din that there was no any food in his house for the last two or three days. But when the coolie went to the *Bazaz* for his wages, and told him the whole story, *Bazaz* became so angry and ordered the coolie until he returns this rice from Akhwand and, brings receipt from Mir Shams-ud-Din then in turn of wages you have been charged with fine. After this the coolie went to Akhwand and had a hot talk with him. The Sufi Hazrat Akhwad replied that, "go your *Bazaz* had died." On the other hand *Bazaz* fell down at his shop and died. Hence Mir Shams-ud-Din by the miraculous power came to know about the death of *Bazaz*. Both the saints on horses back reached to the shop of *Bazaz*. Even a dog was also died by the hoes of horse of Akhwand. When Mir Shams-ud-Din asked to Hazrat Akhwand why you should murdered two sinless lives. At this movement Akhwand glanced at the dog and dog ran away and then he saw towards *Bazaz* and offered prayer before the Allah and the *Bazaz* also become alive. This was the miracle of Hazrat Akhwand. It represents highest spiritual status of above mentioned Akhwand Mahdi Kubravi Sufi. After his death, his dead body was buried in the *mohallah* Tabakpora.[1]

Khwaja Abdur Razaq Kubravi.

He was the contemporary of Aurangzeb, and he was the son of Khwaja Muhammad Bazaz who was among the *khalifas* of Hazrat Shaikh Musa Kubravi. He spent most of his time in meditation and mystic exercises. He continued the Kubravi order at his father's *khanqah* in the Meleumar *mohallah* of Srinagar. He breathed his last on A.H 1114 / A.D 1702-1703.[2] He guided his followers (disciples) and after his death his dead body was buried in his own house at the place where he used to set.[3]

Sayyid Husain Pakhli Kubravi.

He is an eighteenth century Sufi of Kubravi order. He was among the *khulifa* of Mir Muhammad whose connection reaches up to Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. He also went to Arabia for the purpose of performing *Hajj,* before he came to the Valley. He was very punctual in context of spiritual daily activities. He was also a

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1. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliy-i-Kashmir,* Part II., op. cit., pp. 316-17
2. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 324.
3. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 224.

Duwakhawan (one who prays), Shah Alam Bahadur son of Aurangzeb also respected the Sayyid Husain. He was a very simple and having spiritual powers (command) over the *Tasarufat*.[1] In the year A.H 1122 / A.D 1710-1711 he returned from the *Hajj* and stayed in Kashmir for the few months and after it, returning with the *Lashkar-Shahi* (royal army of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah), where he fill ill, and as result he breathed his last, after living a long life in the same year. Moin-ud-Din Miskeen writes that he (Sayyid Hasan Pakhli) was very much involved in the Qubravi order mystical exercises, and after his death his dead body was buried in his mother-land at Pakhli.[2]

Khwaja Abdullah Kubravi.

He had a darwish (saint) like good qualities, and was a well behaved person. He was a high character and pious man. He spent most of his life in *Ibadah* (worship) and after his death he was buried at a village called Haniwari.[3]

Hazrat Baba Azam Kuravi.

He was the son and *khalifa* (successor) of Hazrat Baba Mahmud Ganai. Baba Azam Kubravi was very pious, God fearing and hard worker Sufi. Spiritually he had also benefited from Hazrat Baba Wali. He had struggled very much and worked hard in case of meditation. His tomb lies in the *mohallah* of Skawalapora.[4]

Baba Abdul Baqi Kubravi.

He was a contemporary of the author of *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* that is Khwaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari. Abdul Baqi was the son of Baba Muhammad Shafi, and attained having high status in the mystical exercises. In the very young age he became the *Sajjada Nishin*. He had already got benefited from Shah Husain Pakhli and in his company he acquired the religious knowledge and chosen the path of keeping aloof himself, from the evils, and live with the fear of God. In his young age he travelled a large. Diddamari says that once he made an attention to visit the shrine of the Amir-i-Kabir but as the route was sealed, he had to return from Kabul, to

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1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 360-61.
2. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., pp. 65.
3 . *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. III, (Urdu tr.), *Tazkira-i-Auliy-i-Kashmir,* Part II., op. cit., p. 433.
4. Ibid., p. 672.

Kashmir, and then turned direction of his journey towards Arabia for the purpose of performing *Hajj*. And after performing *Hajj* (pilgrimage), he visited Medina, and spent seven years there. He returned to Kashmir where at an early age of 50, he passed away from this world and was buried in the *Astan* of Shaikh Baba Wali.[1]

1. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 444-45.

CHAPTER- V

Impact of Sufism on the Socio-Cultural Conditions (of the people) of Jammu & Kashmir during the period under review

The picturesque Valley of Kashmir is famous for its cultural activities, civilization and communal harmony for centuries. So for as the socio-cultural conditions of the Valley are concerned, it should be noted that with the arrival of Sufism into the Valley and with the penetration of Sufis who preached Islam peacefully in Kashmir, there started a remarkable change in the social and religious life of the people of Kashmir. From here the contacts of the local people become closer to the foreign Muslims. It was because of the Sufis efforts that the local converted people adopted many of their manners, customs, dress, diet, etc. but they could not give-up all of their old practices, beliefs and traditions, with the result a new social order emerged, combined the old ideas with the new ones. The cultural relations with Persia and Turkistan and the coming of people from such countries had directly affected social transformation. Finally the people created a society of mix traditions of the old ideas, and the new faith called Indo-Islamic Culture.[1]

With the spread of Islam in Kashmir all the aspects of art, architecture and literature was influenced by the respected Sufis, theologians, artists and learned-men who came from outside to Kashmir. As a result there established a composite culture which gradually changed the social order with the passage of time and hence introduced Islamic culture in Kashmir later on.[2]

In the ancient Kashmir, Hindu society was cast oriented divided into Brahmans, *Kashtriyas*, *Vaisyas* and the *Sudras.*[3] Mohibbul Hassan states that, “These divisions were not as rigid as in India. It was, for example, not uncommon for the rulers to take *Domba* girls (prostitutes) as their wives and make them their chief queens” furthermore there in the Valley a low born can also rise to the highest position in the State. Besides it, as usual it was the Brahman class which had enjoyed a high status. The in-charges of the temples were exempted from the burden of

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1. *Kashmir under the Sultans*, (ed.), H.N. Rafiabadi, op. cit., p. 355.
2. M.L. Kapur, *The History and Culture of Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 328-2
3. N.K. Sing, *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, Srinagar, 2000, pp. 7-8

taxation and other levies imposed by the State.[1] The Brahman priests even indulged themselves in State affairs and used to persuade the government in their favour and sometimes they sat on hunger strike until their demands would not be accepted by the rulers.[2]

Mohibbul Hassan mentions on the basis of information in the Jonaraja's work, that the Hindus of the Valley could not escape themselves from the social and cultural influence of these outsiders and they adopted the Muslim customs with regard to dress and food habits and some of them even started to eat beef.[3]

It should also be pointed out, that the Brahmans being a high religious class among the Hindus did not admit Rinchana into the circle of Hinduism. But with the transfer of political power to the converted Muslim ruler, Rinchana the privileged religious position of the Brahmans now get a set back because their special position with the spread of Islam in Kashmir now taken and filled by the Muslim divines, Sufis (*Pirs*), Sayyids and Ulama. These people were much respected and regarded in the society as well in the eyes of ruling elite.[4]

Earlier to the Muslim rule in Kashmir, the Muslims were employed by a number of Hindu rulers in their armies, and with the coming of Sufis from Turkistan and Central Asia they too were allowed full freedom to preach Islam. As a result due to their efforts, missionaries, and some other reasons led to the foundation of Sultanate in the first quarter of the 14th century A.D. Later on when gradually and rapidly Islam flourished in Kashmir it caused a symbol of hostility among the Brahmans because they found their traditional values being upset, and some of the basic assumptions of the Hindu society was being challenged. Hence in the initial stage the Brahmans tried to challenge the Islamic missionaries. But very soon they realized the demerits of such challenge and opposition with the result they adopted the course of good will and friendship towards them. We did not found any noticeable clash between Hindus and Muslims during the Muslim rule instead we find instances of marriage of a Hindu girl with a Muslim boy.[5]

1. *Kashmir under the Sultans*, (ed.), H.N. Rafiabadi, op. cit., p. 355
2. Ibid., pp. 355-56
3. Ibid., p. 370
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 2
5. Ibid., p. 42

With the passage of time when the Muslims permanently settled in the Valley and two communities lived side by side, in a friendly atmosphere. Only one communal clash has been noticed which occurred during the reign of Sultan Hasan Shah. Both the communities not only showed the respect of toleration, but even the inter marriages among the Hindus and Muslims were common. They visited each other's places of worship, regarded each other's saints, and participated in each other's festivities occasions.[1]

Though some converted Muslims had given up their old surnames and they were called according to their profession they adopted after their conversion. However, the Sufis always tried their best, in unifying economic disparities caused by the *Varna* system prevailed in the society.[2]

With the passage of time in medieval Kashmir, the Hindu society was divided into two groups, the Persian speaking Hindus were called Karkun and the Sanskrit speaking Hindus were called Pundits.[3]

Walter Lawrence is of the opinion that, "It would be interesting to trace the origin of the Kram names, although by intermarriage the Krams have ceased to have any individuality or distinction and to acquire whether the various *Krams* sprang from a Brahman, Khattri or Vaisya origin." Hence the Musalmans of the Pandit, Kol, But, Aitu, Rishi, Mantu and Ganai are the descendants of the Brahmans who were converted to Islam during the 14th century. And among the Khattri Krams were the Magres, Tantres, Daras, Dangars, Rainas, Rathors, Thakurs and Naiks. However Lawrence further elaborates it, that Lone is having its origin from Vaisya and about Damras he relates them to the Sudras origin that is lowest among the four Hindu castes.[4] Further the Brahmans who did not give-up their caste, hence with the passage of time they got divided into two sub-castes that are the Karkuns and the Bhasya-bhatts. Here the Karkuns preferred the study of Persian and hence got the appointments in the government jobs. But the other group of Brahmans, that is,

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1. Ibid., p. 43
2. Ibid., p. 2
3. Buhle, George, *"Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts" Journal of the Royal Asiatic society* (Bombay Branch), 1877, p. 2 0
4. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 306. *Kram* means a name or title given to a person on behalf of his / her dynasty, tribe or profession in the valley of Kashmir.

Bhashya-bhatts continued the study of Sanskrit and look after the religious matters of their community as usual.[1]

Lal Ded born during the 14th century A.D in the Valley of Kashmir and was a famous *Yogni* of Kashmir.[2] It is also visible from the teachings of Lal Ded that how Islam made its influence over *Advaita Saivism.* Hence she becomes disturbed by large sects and religious conflicts and the beliefs and practices of the Advaita Saivism. Therefore she met Sayyid Ali Hamdani and Shaikh Noor-ud-din Rishi and learned Islamic and mystic practices from them. It was the Islamic influence on her that she gave up the idol worship and caste system. She was of the opinion that the world is an illusion. Sayyid Ali Hamadani's influence is also shown from her sayings that, " it was not necessary for a person to become a hermit in order to achieve the absorption of the Individual Self into the Supreme, but that even a householder can obtain ultimate Reality provided he performed his religious and secular duties without any thought of gain or profit." She also learned the use of mystic terms from the *Sufis*, like the Doctrine of the Divine love and hence she also used the term 'Beloved' to denote the Nature (God). Thus in her poetry Sufism appears when she is awakening the Beloved and says:[3]

"When the moonlight ended with the dawn,
Mind of her Self with illusion mad
Lalla to the love of God had drawn,
Soothing the pain that had made him sad:
Cried to her Beloved: It is I,
Lalla, Lalla, that awakens Thee:
Buried in the crystal lake doth lie
All the defilement that darkened me."

"Although divisions in Kashmiri society based on caste disappeared for the most part, they were replaced by class distinctions which, in certain cases, retained the old rigidity. Islam no doubt provided a unifying and leavening force, and the Sufis

1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 2
2. Sayyid Rasool Pampore, *Rishihat-i-Ayame*, Bijbehara (Kashmir), 2001, p. 69.
3. *Kashmir under the Sultans*, (ed.), H.N. Rafiabadi, op. cit., pp. 380-81.

tried to bridge the gulf between the different classes, but, owing to the economic disparities and functional differences, real social equality could not be achieved."[1]

In the Sultanate period in Kashmir the Sultan and the royal family held the top status in the Kashmiri society and the nobles like Chaks, Magres, Rainas, Dars and Bhatts including the Sayyids enjoyed huge Jagirs. They also played an important role as patrons of the scholars and artists, and also erected religious buildings for the welfare of the people and for the spread of education. However, the Chaks and the Sayyids were of foreign origins. There were two categories among Sayyids: the Alavi Sayyids and, the Baihaqi Sayyids. The Alavi Sayyids started coming to Kashmir right at the beginning of the rule of the Sultans and played an active part in religious matters. The Baihaqi Sayyids arrived in the 15th century A.D during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, and took active part in the state politics.[2]

However, the Sultan and the noble families established matrimonial relations with the high class elite like Sayyids, Chaks and the Magres. For gaining the political strength, they even made matrimonial relations with the nobles of the neighbouring territories like Madra, Kishtwar, Rajouri, Pakhli and Sind.[3]

In the society besides the nobility, Ulama, Sayyids and Sufis also played a key role that mostly came from the Central Asia and were highly respected class amongst the Muslims. The Ulama were highly knowledgeable persons about the principles of the *Shariat* and with the passage of time the local scholars also acquired the necessary knowledge with in the country or from outside the country and reached to the position of Islamic jurists.[4] From these people the government appointed the *Qazis, Muftis* and *Shaikh-ul-Islam* in the state judiciary.[5]

As far as Sufis, *Pirs* or *murshids* in Kashmir are concerned they influenced all the three aspects of social, religious and cultural life in the Valley.[6] Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani came to Kashmir during the reign of Qutb-ud-Din held the opinion that, "the Muslims should limit their desires according to the dictates of religion but they should

1. Ibid., pp. 356-57
2. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 3-4
3. Ibid., p. 4
4. Ibid., p. 4
5. Ibid., p. 5
6 Ibid., p. 5

not annihilate them like the Hindu *Sadhus* or Muslim *Faqirs*. Sayyid Ali greatly stressed on doing Justice, social justice is the central idea of his political philosophy."[1]

The *Pirs, murshids*, or Sufis abode was called *khanqah*. They laid such an impact on the ruling class that, these *khanqahs* of such pious people were mostly erected by the royal family members and the nobles. So *khanqah* was the place where a Sufi, *Pir* or *murshid* resided along with their families and the principal disciples, learned men or *khalifas*. On the death of a *Pir* he was succeeded by one among his main disciples having high intellectual and spiritual qualities. However, sometimes succession is also based on hereditary principles. The successor was generally called *khalifa*.[2]

The Sultan also participated in a Yagana ceremony once so as to avert a famine. The important thing is that in this ceremony the Brahmans got gifts from the Sultan. So for Sultan Qutub-ud-Din is concerned, he married with two real sisters* because he was ignorant about the proper knowledge of *Shriah*. Therefore, the Sultans did not propagate or promote religious synthesis. Initially they were not able to distinguish between right and wrong according to the Islamic point of view i.e., *Shariah*.[3]

In the 15th century during the reign of the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin the society was categorized on the basis of racial, religious and socio-economic factors, and this comprises the indigenous and foreign origin and they ranged from urban and landed aristocrat groups even peasantry or tribal classes.[4]

During the 16th century when Kashmir was ruled by the Chaks, the Ulama had much influence on the government activities. It was they who were always consulted in solving the problems related to civil or religious matters. Generally in matters of

1 *Kashmiri Sufism*, op. cit., p. 214
2 *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 5
3 *The Valley of Kashmir. The Making and Unmaking of a Composite Culture*, op. cit., pp. 153-54
*Sultan Qutb-ud-Din initially married with the two real sisters (born of the same parents) but later on he on behalf of the advice of the Sufi Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Qutb-ud-Din divorced both of his wives but later the younger one came into his *nikah*. This highlights the impact of Sufis taking care of *Shariat.* See also, Sayyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), Ghulam Rasool Bhat, op. cit., pp. 29-30
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 10

judicial administration the Chak rulers, viz, Husain Shah Chak and Yusuf Shah Chak seek help and advice of the Ulama.[1]

Sayyids were highly an influential religious class in the Medieval Kashmir. Though the Baihaqi Sayyids played a crucial role in state politics during Chak Rule but on the other hand they did not give-up the motive of their life of piety and austerity as a fundamental religious duty. However, after the Mughal conquest of Kashmir by Emperor Akbar a few Sayyids were also shifted to Delhi along with Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah, and remained loyal to their early political masters. Therefore, a Sayyid Abdul Maali, buried the dead bodies of kings Yusuf Shah and Yaqub Shah at Diswak in Bihar.[2]

In the Medieval Kashmir, it was Gazi Shah Chak who for the first time gave concessions to the people in the evil practice of *begar* (forced labor).[3] And later on Ali Shah stopped this practice completely.[4] Yusuf Shah Chak abolished the collection of taxes from the poor classes of the society like of *Dombas, Chandalas* and *Chamars.*[5]

During the 16th Century the Sufis were highly regarded and respected because of their piety, simplicity and learning. Hence Sufism established hold in Kashmir as earlier as the foundation of the Sultanate in Kashmir, during the Chak rule, as has been already explained in the earlier chapters, that the various Sufi orders were flourishing: Suhrawardiyyah, Kubraviyyah, Qadiriyyah, Naqashbandiyyah, Nurbakshiyyah and Rishi order, all have laid their influence on the Chak rulers.[6]

A Kashmiri Sufi of the 16th century Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi once was so much annoyed with a person who was a drunkard that he hit a drunkard with his stick who died on spot.[7] The *zikr* ceremonies of the Sufis also besides the devotional aspects served as a symbol of social equality, all classes of the different people

1. *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* (English tr.), op. cit., pp. 192-93
2. Anonymous, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, completed in 1023 A.H. / 1614-15 MS. Ethe, No. 509 (O.R.D. Srinagar), f. 20b.
3. Abu'l-Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari,* (tr.) by H. Blochmann, Edited by Lieut. Colonel D.C., Vol. I, New Delhi, 1977, p. 90.
4. *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* op. cit., f. 142b.
5. Ibid., f. 142.
6. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit, p. 16
7. Ibid., p. 82,

together do the same practice.[1] Besides the 16th century Kashmiri Sufi Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi in the Chak period in his teaching called up on the people to lead a virtuous life and he studied in his early age in the college known as *Dar-ul-Shifa* at the foot hills of Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar. He studied Sufism besides the other sciences and learning's. He also emphasized that the religious taxes should be paid and he addressed the people to acquire knowledge.[2]

Population

So far, as the population of the Valley is concerned, Abu'l-Fazl is of the opinion that it was thickly populated. Later on, in 1670 roughly there were 12, 43003 people, it is remarkable that the district of Maraj (the southern part of Kashmir) was more fertile and populous than Kamraj (the northern part of Kashmir). In the Maraj district the *parganas* of Vihi, Wular, and Advin were comparatively denser, in the population, than the rest while in the Kamraj district Krohen and Bangil were more populous than the remaining *parganas.* Therefore, the majority of the people lived in the villages and the rural areas.[3]

Besides spreading Islam in Kashmir, these Sufis always raised their voice against injustice, oppression and exploitation.[4] Hence right from the 14th Century A.D. some Sufis played a key role as social reformers. For example sati system was banned in Kashmir by the Sultan Sikandar on behalf of the advice of the Sufi Mir Muhammad Hamadani.[5]

In the Medieval Kashmir Sufis being a mystic class played an important role and laid much influence on the social, religious and cultural life of the people. They maintained the structure of Sunni social and religious order integral.[6] The Sufis led an an ascetic life and they give much stress on simplicity and self discipline in their quest for receiving God's blessings. They believed within the limits of *Shariat* (Islamic Law) and considered it the only way to consult God for the salvation of all miseries. However, they took *Qur'an* as an important source for the teachings of Islam, but also

1. Ibid., p. 6
2. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. I, op. cit., p. 112 see also, Walter. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* London ,1895, P. 292
3. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 2-3
4. Ibid., p. 17
5 . *Kashmir under the Sultans,* 1974, op. cit., p. 225
6. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century),* op. cit., p. 258.

gave much emphasis on the inner ward (*batin*) purity of man which is much important than the dogmatic formalism of the orthodox type.[1]

Besides these, there were a number of *Pirs* and their *murids* who lived in the *khanqahs* (the organization of *khanqah* in Kashmir was the same as in other Muslim countries) and some endowments were granted for such *khanqahs* by the princes and nobles and ruling elite where these *Pirs* lived along with their families and followers. However, the disciples and followers used to learn the mystic teaching and practices from their *Pirs* or *Murshids* and then after achieving to the high spiritual stage, they leave the *khanqah* and move to other places for preaching the new disciples the ways (*tariqa*) of their masters teaching.[2]

As we have already mentioned about Shaikh Nooru-ud-din Rishi (1373-1438) the patron saint of Kashmir also called Nund Rishi. He flourished a new local Sufi order commonly called as Rishi silsila.[3]

Tsar-i-Sharif (Charar-i-Sharif) is a place where Shaikh Nooru-ud-din Wali (*Shaikh-ul-Alam*) is buried and even to this day his *Ziarat* attracts thousands of people belonging to both Hindus and Muslim communities. The Kashmiri people had a great regard for him,[4] as he laid much impact on the socio-cultural life of Kashmiri people even 16th century A.D onwards. Earlier Jahangir mentions about 2000 *Faqirs* whom he calls the Rishis, and who had worked for the welfare of the society. He states, "though they have not enough religious knowledge or learning of any sort, yet they posses simplicity, and are without pretence. They abuse no one, they restrain the tongue of desire, and the foot of seeking; they eat no flesh, they have no wives, and always plant fruit-bearing trees in the fields, so the men may benefit by them, themselves deriving no advantage."[5]

Further Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* mentions that, the people of Kashmir shave their heads and put on a round turban, the women folk wear a long tunic of *Pattu* cloth. He

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, op. cit, Vol. 2, p. 16
2. Ibid., p. 20
3. Baba Dawud Mishkati, *Asrarul-Abrar*, (1063 A.H / 1602- 53), MS. O.R.D. (Oriental Research Department, Srinagar) No. 40. f. 63a
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 52
5. Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* (*Memoirs of Jahangir*), Vol. 2, (Tr.), Alexander Rogers, and (ed.), Henry Beveridge, Delhi, Rep., 2006, pp. 149-50.

also mentions that in the time of Mirza Haidar Dughlat there were many skilled people particularly expert in music. Many instruments viz dulcimers, harps, drums and flutes were used.[1] Jahangir also says that merchants and artificers are mostly of the *Sunnis* of Kashmir while as soldiers according to Jahangir were of Immamiyyah Shias and also belonged to other classes like Nurbakshis.[2]

So far as the system of slavery in Medieval Kashmir is concerned, up to the Mughal annexation we do not find any evidence in the contemporary sources, but Abu'l-Fazl in *Akbarnama* mentions, "That the agreement made between the Emperor Akbar and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, (who invited the Mughal emperor to annex Kashmir in 1586) on the condition that Kashmiris shall not be made slaves and servants".[3] Abu'l-Fazl further says, "Probably this was to forestall the Mughal custom of taking slaves from the subjugated Valley."[4]

Hindu Muslim unity:

Hindu women were to retain their Hindu names even after their marriage with a Muslim. Shankar Devi who was the daughter of Raja Bahadur Sing of Kishtwar was married in1571 with the last Chak ruler Yaqub Chak and she continued to be called with her Hindu name till her death. But she was also called as Fath Khatun, due to Muslim influence.[5] Regi Chak who was a Chak noble was married to the daughter of Hindu Raja of Jammu.[6]

Both the Hindus and Muslims joined in each other's festivals and celebrations.[7] The discussions were held between the Hindu Yogis and Muslim saints. saints. One of the Chak rulers Husain Shah Chak had fixed Saturday of every week for such discussions and meetings. During the whole Mughal and Afghan period and even today the Hindus of Kashmir visited the Muslim shrines to receive blessings.[8]

1. Ibid., p. 148
2. Ibid., p. 149
3. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit, p. 42
4. Ibid.
5. *Kashir, Being a History of Kashmir From the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 236
6. Sayyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Ms. O.R.D., No 739 (Sultans, Khan, Ms. O.R.D.), f. 15a
7. *Tarkh-i-Rashidi*, (English tr.), 1991, op. cit., pp. 425-29
8. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 43

Life in Srinagar:

Srinagar the capital city of Kashmir was the centre of all kind of life and activities i.e., social, cultural, economic and political.[1] During the 16th century, houses in the city were generally lofty buildings, generally made up of cedar, pine, fir, wood and stone and mortar. Most of the buildings had five stories and each story had large apartments, halls, galleries and towers.[2]

Thus Mirza Haidar Dughlat is of the opinion that the beauty of their exterior defied description and caused much wonder.[3] Abu'l-Fazl mentions that in his time around 1587 the city of Srinagar continued to be attractive we also find, that Srinagar was large and populated city and river *Behat* (*Jhelum*) passes through it. Many of the houses are of wood, and few of them had five stories. On the roofs of their houses they plant tulips and other flowers and during the spring season there rival flower gardens.[4]

However, during the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan (17th century A.D) the conditions remained mostly the same. Thus, Jahangir almost repeats Abu'l-Fazl's statement about the house planning in the Srinagar city.[5]

Bernier mentions that on the bank of river Jhelum most of the houses made of wood because wood was available in large quantity and was cheap. The houses had little garden which laid good effect particularly during the spring and summer season, 'when many parties of pleasure take place on the water.[6]

Besides one can look the flower and kitchen gardens. On the other hand, the houses on the banks of the Dal Lake were connected by canals, on which the owners kept pleasure boats. In nutshell, the people in the city were happy, healthy and prosperous.[7]

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1. Ibid., p. 43
2. Ibid., p. 44
3. *Tarkh-i-Rashidi*, (Eng. tr.), op. cit., p. 429
4. Abu-l-Fazl, *The Akbar Nama*, (tr.), H. Beveridge, Vol. III, Delhi, Rep. 1977, p. 827-28
5. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 144-45
6. François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656-1668*, (ed.), Vincent A. Smith, New Delhi, 1983, p. 398.
7. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 44

Rural life:

The village life in Kashmir was quite charm full. The villages were very beautiful due to fresh air, flowing water streams, growing trees. One can freely refreshes in such villages and many of them are objects of attraction. Mostly the village houses were made of mud bricks set in wooden frames which make the four walls covered with timber. Majority of the houses in the villages having slanting roof thatched over with the *Shali* straw which was significant with the purpose that it does not allow snow to collect on the roof of a house. Such houses mostly belonged to the peasantry class. Generally the houses were double storied. The floor story was kept for the cattle, sheep etc., but in some of the houses of the rich, the ground floor was utilized for the purpose of *hamam* (warm room) for the family during the winter season.[1]

The most famous companion of the Kashmiris during the winter was a portable brazier (*Kangri*) to warm up their body during the cold (winter) season.[2] The poor people wore straw shoes *(pulharus*) during the winter season. But the use of *Kangri* is still in practice in Kashmir during the winter season.[3]

The main occupation of the villagers in Kashmir was cultivation and the rearing of the cattle. Hence they generally believe in the below Kashmiri phrase, *"Yus Karith Gonglu Sui KaKaith Karao"*, He who ploughs shall reap.[4]

Nagendra K. Singh is of the opinion that, "Social life in the villages remained stereotyped and immobile. The villagers were given no opportunity to alter their ancestral occupation of tilling and rearing cattle. They continued to be treated like primitive serfs like their ancestors. They had no say in their administration, local or central and nobody bothered about them. Yet they remained a happy contented lot, whenever they were spared by their ubiquitous bogy-early snowfall and heavy rains in spring and autumn."[5]

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1. Ibid., p. 46
2. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 250
3. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 52
4. Ibid., p. 47
5. Ibid., p. 48

A small number of officials, *Maulavis, Pundits* and *Zamaindars* who lived in the towns specially in Srinagar, their life style was like that of urban type. They called other rural or village living people as *gama-hakhur*, which means village bull.[1]

Position of women:

In Kashmir during the Hindu rule women were deprived of their status. They were given a small position of sub-ordination to their husbands. They could not inherit and neither claim for the right property. They can only enjoy their social life with their husbands. However as the Sufis penetrated Kashmir and spread Islam in Kashmir and it laid good impact and also refreshed the women life. It gave them their due status and prestige. It gives the right of equality to women with men though later on the women claimed their right to property.[2]

Along with the shawl weaving the other thing very interested for which generally Kashmir is known for the beauties of its women.[3] Although Sir Walter Lawrence ignores the beauty of women in Kashmir, but if he had visited the villages, he could see the actual natural beauty of women. If he would have visited through the Kashmir, he than could realize, strikingly beauty of women with in clear cut features, large dark eyes, well marked eye brows, and a general Jewish appearance. Hence as a proof the weavers of shawls are themselves the best examples known for their beauty throughout the world.[4]

Some of the Kashmiri women stood as cultured members of the society in the fields of religion, literature and fine arts. Their handsomeness and physical charms remained unparallel. About beautiful unmarried Kashmiri girls Marco Polo had got much information.[5] They (Kashmiri girls) remained objects of attraction and possession during the Mughal (1586-1752) and Pathan (1752-1819) period. Bernier who visited Kashmir in 1664 A.D[6] about the physical beauty of Kashmiri girls, he writes, "Nearly every individual when first admitted to the Court of the Great Mogol

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 353
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 48
5. *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656-1668*, op. cit., p. 404
6. Fida Mohammad Khan Hassnain, *Kashmir the History of Himalayan Valley*, Srinagar, 2002, p. 217

selected wives from and concubines (from Kashmir) so that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols".[1]

With the coming of Islam in Kashmir the whole society underwent a great transformation with the passage of time. It has already been discussed above that after the establishment of Islam widowhood, suicides and *Sati* practices were strictly prohibited for forever.[2] However, Islam did not forced Kashmiri women to adopt *purdah* system though the women of the high class belonging to Sayyid and Maulavi families used it. The rest of the women worked in the fields as formers without veil.[3] During the early period Muslim rule, there was no difference in outlook of Hindu women from a Muslim one in dress, manners and customs. But with the passage of time there came a tremendous change. The *pardah* became a common practice among the upper classes of the society. The house of the women now became her proper place and obedience to her husband and the family members become her duty.[4]

During the 16th - 18th century in medieval Kashmir the women enjoyed the similar positions or status in society as was given to them in countries like Iran, Turkistan and in the other parts of Mughal India.[5]

Thus in case of more prosperous and respectable classes of the society for the women, an institution of harem came into existence. Harem was a separate living quarter for the ladies of the upper class of the society. But the women particularly in the rural areas generally helped their men folk in almost every walk of their life, without veil.[6]

Hence marriages were arranged by the parents and early marriage for both boy and girl was favoured. Polygamy was practiced by only few men, but the Sultan did not kept more than four wives with the same time. Earlier after the death of a husband of Hindu women she practiced Sati i.e., she burnt herself along with the dead body of her husband but it was banned by Sultan Sikandar, on the other hand the Muslim widows generally remarried.[7]

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1. *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656-1668*, op. cit., p. 404
2. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 49
3. S.R. Bakshi, *Kashmir: Valley and its Culture,* New Delhi, 1997, p. 238
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 49
5. *Kashmir under the Sultans,* op. cit., p. 227
6. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 49
7. Ibid., p. 50

"Divorce, though permitted among the Muslims was rarely resorted to since the Chak rulers were leading a highly moral life, there was no scope for prostitution or concubine age but the polygamy was practiced within *Sharia*."[1]

Some women worked in the fields of gardens and by wool spinning for manufacturing shawls and to earn their bread and butter.[2] But the ladies of the Ulama and the aristocracy strictly maintained *purdah* and they did not go outside of their houses for different entertainments freely.[3] These Muslim women acquired the basic education at their own houses from the tutors. But the few women were very active and cultured who opened schools, built monasteries and mosques and took interest in the public affairs for example Sura, Hyat Khatoon, Gul Khatoon and Habba Khatoon were the prominent in the list.[4]

Another important role of the Kashmiri women in the Socio-cultural aspects of their lives was that some of the ladies of the Sufis though managed the arrangements of *khanqah* after the death of their husbands, for example, the wife of Khwaja Moinuddin Naqashbandi after the death of her husband Khwaja Moinuddin on 5th of *Muharam,* in 1085 A.H/ 1674-1675 A.D she took the responsibility of the management of the *khanqah*. With the result, she had run the administration of the *khanqah* more tactfully and successfully as compared to the men folk of the period.[5]

It is general belief of the Sufis that a women could not sustains the difficulties required for the liberation and to get perfection as a *Sufia* but Mullah Shah Budakshi had some women disciples also.[6] Hence Roopa Bhawani was also a saint and *Sufia* of her time and she was one of the disciples of Shah Sadiq Qalandar.[7] In the Rajouri and Bhimber areas inter-marriages among the Hindus and Muslims were quite common even during the Mughal Rule. Both the Mughal emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan put restrictions on the intermarriages and on the sati practices.[8]

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1. Ibid., p. 51
2. *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, op. cit., pp. 402-403
3. Ibid., p. 404
4. *Kashmir under the Sultans*, op. cit., p. 227
5. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 281-82
6. Dara Shukoh, *Sakinatul-Awalia*, Tehran, 1965, p. 153
7. *Kashmir under the Mughals, 1586-1752*, op. cit., p. 140
8. Abdul Hamad Lahori, *Badshanama,* Vol. I, (ed.) by Maulvi Kabir-ud-Din Ahmad and Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1867, pp. 57-58

Education:

In the field of education also, Sufis played a crucial role. They established *madrasas* where not only Islamic knowledge was provided but they also gave scholastic doctrines of Islam and also the social and moral education was given to the students. The most important *madrasas* in the early period of Muslim rule in Kashmir were Madrasas-tul-Islam,[1] Madrasatul-Darar'ul-Shifa,[2] and Madrasatul-'Uusqa. All of of these *madrasas* were in the Srinagar city.[3] In the above mentioned *madrasas* many types of learning of Islamic sciences and knowledge were taught viz, *Qur'an*, *Qur'anic* commentaries *Hadith*, *fiqh* and *tafsir*.[4] So for the very crucial *madrasa* which was the centre of Islamic knowledge in all branches was Madrasatul-Darar'ul-Shifa, established by Shaikh Ismail Kubravi. Hence the *madrasa* was provided with all facilities like boarding for students, besides it, there was a well known library attached to the *marasa* and a big congregational mosque for offering *Namaz* (prayers) was also built near the *madrasa*.[5] To these *madarasas* or Islamic centers, students were coming even from Hindustan and Kabul.[6]

The Sufis also laid great stress on the women education. Baba Dawud Khaki a Kashmiri Sufi highlights the significance of religious knowledge for the women. He quotes Ghazali's sayings, "It is obligatory on a husband to impart religious education to his wife, and if he does not fulfill it, the woman has every right to move towards a teacher without the permission of her husband to acquire *'Ilm-i-Sharia'*." Hence with such efforts of Sufis women-education got much progress during the 16th- 17th centuries.[7]

Both the ladies of upper and middle class received religious education by the Maulives in the *Maktabs* established throughout the Valley.[8]

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1. *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya*, op. cit., f. 72a.
2. Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, 962 A.H. / 1554-55 A.D., Srinagar, Ramzan 1356 / November 1937, p. 63 see also, Baba Nasib, *Rishi Nama*, completed in 1041/ 1631-32, MS., I.O.L, Delhi, Persian No. 731, (Sultans, H.M.K.,Khan, Ms.O.R.D.), f. 381b.
3. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit, p. 255
4. Baba Nasib, *Rishi Nama*, 1041/ 1631-32, MS., I.O.L, Delhi, Persian No. 731(Sultans, H.M.K.,Khan, Ms.O.R.D.), f. 381b.
5. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Ms. O.R.D., No. 739, op. cit., f. 22b see also Muhiu'd-Din Miskin, *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 145
6. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., f. 22b
7. *Dasturu's-Salikin*, op. cit., p. 135
8. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 49

Nagendra K. Singh writes that, "The attitude of mind towards education among the population was basically secular. Education of children received particular attention. Both boys and girls were acquainted from tender age with the basic principles and formalities of their religion by their parents. When they were interested the care of the *Maulavi* in the *Maktab* or of Pandit in the *Pathshalas*, the inauguration ceremony was done under picturesque rituals. The Muslim boys and girls were taught the *Kalima* and the *namaz* while the Hindus were taught *Sandhya* (a study of the practice of Hindu practice of worship) and *natinama*. Higher education too was imported"[1]

There were *Pathshalas* where Hindu women acquired education by the Pundits. Although the higher education was also given to the Hindu women in the above mentioned *Pathshalas* but women of the lower strata of society were mostly illiterate because of ill sources of income, they could not afford tuition and time so that they made the *Maktub*. Moreover society could not tolerate their emerging literary talents. Habba Khatun also becomes a sort of problem for her father when she acquired literally talents. Therefore, she lived a miserable life in the village.[2]

Dress:

There is a direct impact of Sufism on the dress of Kashmiri people. Hence with their penetration a period of transition begins in Kashmir that is within the establishment of cultural connection with Arabia, Persia and Turkistan. Before their contact to above mentioned countries the Kashmiri men generally wore long loosen tunic like the people of Ladakh, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan. More over Kashmiris covered their head with a piece of white cloth. The long loose tonic was generally made of woolen stuff (*Pattu*).[3] The king and the nobles wear the silken dress on the festive occasions. Sultan Hasan Shah gave silk clothes instead of cotton cloths to his servants on the occasion of coronation.[4]

During the Hindu period this long loosen tunic was used by both men and women and the men did not shave their heads and wore the above white piece of

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1. Ibid., p. 51
2. Ibid., p. 50
3. Ibid., p. 51
4. Srivara, *Zaina Rajatarangini*, (English Tr.), Kashi Nath Dhar, New Delhi, 1994, p. 418

cloth.[1] However during the Muslim rule (Sultanate period) the use of long loosen enlarge tunic (called in Kashmir *Phiran*) continued. But the women hence started to have a fillet on their forehead and a black mantilla above it which fell from the head over the shoulders on to the legs and it was called *Kasaba* in case of the Muslim women and *Taranga* in that for a Hindu women. *Taranga* was hence tied to a hanging bonnet falling to the heels from behind.[2] In other words the Muslim Kashmiri women tied around their heads a piece of cloth or handkerchief type called *Kasaba*. Earlier the Hindu ladies tied a white handkerchief around their heads.[3] During that period men also begin to shave and wore a close fitting skull cap and continued to wear shoes of straw.[4] The above mentioned *Kasaba* or *Taranga* was also in use by the women during 16th-18th century.[5]

However, during the Sultanate period the dress of the upper classes which mainly consist of the Muslim also underwent a drastic change. It happened under the inspiration of a remarkable Sufi named Sayyid Ali Hamdani in the time of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din. The upper portion of the body came to be covered with a garment called *qamiz* of full sleeves while the lower covering from hub to the ankles trousers called *shalwar* of the Persian origin and over the *qamiz* was put on a short vest called Sadri.[6]

Sadri.[6]

The Kashmiri *Phiran* was like the Persian *Phiran* which opens from the neck to the waist and falls down to the ankles with a belt found to the waist.[7] As is mentioned above but during the Mughal period also the *dastar* (turban) was put over the shaven head by the men.[8]

Besides the long and loose sleeves *Chogha*, a turban was introduced and the *Qazis* and the *Muftis* also wore it in black color, silk cloth was also used by the upper

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 52
[2] Ibid., p. 52
3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, 1895, op. cit., pp. 251-52
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 52
5. Ibid., p. 53
6. Ibid., p. 52. This Persian influence over the dress of Kashmiri people, like *Kamiz*, *Shalwar* and *Sadri* remained continued during the Chak, Mughal, and Afghan rule (16th-19th century A.D), and are even today used in Kashmir by the majority of the Kashmiri people.
7. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, , op. cit, p. 148
8. Ibid.

class people. Ornaments were also made in use by the rich men and women. The women also used ear-rings, nose drops and bangles. [1]

Jahangir also praises Kashmir as it is a garden of eternal spring or an iron fort to a place of kings, charming flower bed and a heart growing heritage for Darwishes. Further also mentions about the warm *puttoo* woolen cloth of Kashmiris. He states that both men and women wore such a woolen cloth with the purpose so that, they may easily digest the food in the chilly winter season.[2]

Earlier both the men and women worn drawers (*izar*) had subsequently been discarded by women as is clear from the Jahangir's record, "it is considered wrong to wear drawers, they wear tunic long and ample as for as the head and falling down to the feet and they also wear belt"[3]

The Persian terms to new fashioned dress in Kashmir after Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani are for trouser (*sarawil*) for the Kamiz (*Chethis*),[4] Short Waist (Sadri) for *piharan* (*Chohgah*)[5] and round turban (*dastar*) the head dress.[6]

In 1663 A.D Aurangzeb visited Kashmir and he annoyed to see the women moving without drawers but in long loose Chogah.[7] With the result he had given directions to the Mughal governor of Kashmir Inayatullah Khan to compel them to wear drawers to cover their naked legs.

The Sufis laid its impact not only on the Muslims but on the non-Muslim community of Kashmir as well. As after the wholesale establishment of Islam a Hindu or Muslim could not be distinguished by Jahangir in his period, because both of them worn the similar style of dress. But some of the slight changes in dress occurred, hence introduced since the time of Shah Jahan which distinguished a Pandit from a Muslim. As at the time of Mughal annexation of Kashmir, the Kashmiri Pandits had begin to wear turbans and shaves and put *tika* (religious mark) on their foreheads.

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 53
2. G.M. Rabbani, *Kashmir social and cultural History*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 146-47
3. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 148
4. Ibid., p. 147
5. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, op. cit., ff. 132b, 139b
6. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 148
7. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 54

With the passage of time such a practice could not be continued by them due to some orthodox Muslim rulers.[1]

In the period of Mullah Abdun Nabi Muhtavi Khan (1720) and during the Phathan rule (1753-1819) the Pandits of Kashmir dressed and behaved like their Muslim brethren in order to adjust themselves with the Muslim community and to avoid discrimination to them.[2] One cannot differentiate a Hindu from a Muslim on the basis of dress particularly in the cold winter season.[3] The religious heads, Ulama and other prominent scholars put on black cloak of the Persian style.[4] The Kashmiri men also covered their heads with a turban of white colour.[5] Men of both the communities Hindus as well as of Muslims shaved their heads and keep beard.[6] The trousers were used not commonly but it was used on certain occasions.[7]

Wooden sandals were (a type of footwear) generally used by the Kashmiris.[8] Charar-i-Sharif in district Budgam was a famous centre where huge quantity of Kangar was manufactured by the Kashmiri artisans.[9] The dress of the Kashmiri people was generally depended up on the climatic conditions as compared to cotton; wool was available in large quantity. Besides the Valley in the Kishtwar there were number of mulberry trees whose leaves were utilized for rearing the silk-worms for silk production.[10] Both the men and women wore woolen *tunic* (*kurta*) cloths.[11] Cotton cloth was considered as a luxury item and was worsened by the upper class people.[12]

Food Habits

Srivara says that the diet of Kashmiris also underwent a great change. He notices that some of the Hindus even started eating beef in the company of their Muslim brethren.[13]

1. Ibid., p. 55
2. Ibid., p. 55
3. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 147-48
4. *Asrarul-Abrar*, op. cit., ff. 208a, 2321
5. *The Valley of Kashmir*, 1895, op. cit., p. 251
6. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 148
7. *Asrarul-Abrar*, op. cit., ff. 221
8. Mufti Muhammad Murad Tang, *Tuhfatul-Fuqra*, MS, Research Library, Srinagar, f. 63
9. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 50
10. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 146
11. Ibid., p. 147
12. Nath Pandith, *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, MS. 2314, Research Library Srinagar, pp. 552a
13. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. 257

The favourite food of the Kashmiris throughout the Hindu and Muslim period was the rice. That is why paddy is grown on large scale even today. Failure of paddy crops led to the famine in the time of Ali Shah Chak.[1]

Hence the rice was boiled in a certain quantity of water properly until it absorbed the entire water, then it was kept overnight and then in the morning of next day it was used for eating purpose. The Kashmiris generally called this boiled rice as *bhatta* in their Kashmiri language.[2]

Sufism laid its impact not only on the dress of the Kashmiri people but on their diet and food also. Most of the Sufis came from Persia. Under the Persian influence now the rice begin to be cooked in various types of *pulavs* like *Tursh pulav*, *zard pulav* and *shulla pulav*.[3] Zafron and the various other spices made the Kashmiri food cooking more tasty and favourite.[4]

The wheat crop was not grown in large quantity in the Valley it was used as an item of food by few limited people, but *shali* (rice) was cultivated in large quantity and barley was found rarely.[5] Barley was the simple food for the poor people and used used in the religious ceremonies of Hindus.[6] The other items of food used as meals by by the Kashmiris throughout the whole Muslim period were ghee, vegetables, meat, milk, pickles vinegar, *nadur* and wine.[7]

In Kashmir throughout the whole Muslim period the vegetables were dried up and preserved for the winter season because in winter no crop can be grown. This practice is in vogue even today. Hence the various types of pulses like chana, kultha, Masura, Muga, Mash and millet were grown and used as vegetables.[8] Fish, mutton, beans, fowls both domestic and wild were used by all classes of the people.[9] Jahangir also mentions almost the same thing that, fowl, geese, and ducks (*murghabis*) were

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 55, 82
2. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2 , op. cit., pp. 146-47
3. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 55
4. Ibid., p. 55
5. *The Ain-i-akbari*, Vol. II, (Tr.), Colonel h. S. Jarrett, op. cit., p. 353
6. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 56
7. Ibid.
8. *The Akbar Nama*, (English Tr.), H. Beveridge, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 831
9. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 353; also see, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 147

also considered as the favourite dishes of the Kashmiri people.[1] In Srinagar area the Kashmiris preferred the water of Dal Lake for drinking purposes because it was more digestible as compared to the water of river Jhelum.[2]

Besides meat, the flesh of fowl, goat, horse and various birds were very much in demand. However, pork was taken by the Hindus only before the spread of Islam. So for the beef is concerned, it was not used in the beginning of the Muslim rule commonly but gradually with the passage of time it became so popular that even some times the Hindus also took part to this.[3]

In the preparation of cooked rice neither salt nor ghee were added.[4] The rich people however enjoyed all the kinds of tasteful dishes. Many varieties of meat were also prepared on different festive occasions.[5] Walnut oil was mostly used by the poorer people in the Kashmiri society, besides it linseed, sesame and mustard oil were commonly used. Lawrence had used the Kashmiri term *tilgoglu* for the mustard oil seeds.[6]

Large number of Kashmiri people utilized the water chestnut flour.[7] However the bread prepared by the nut flour was highly nutritive.[8] Knolkohol was also utilized.[9] The various vegetables viz, carrots, bringil, turnips and pulses were cultivated throughout the Kashmir Valley during Mughal rule.[10]

The various kinds of spices viz, pepper, turmeric, ginger cloves, chilies and Saffron were used for making dishes tastier.[11] Besides the local cultivation of spices some of these were imported from Agra to Kashmir. Khwaja Isahq Qari mentions that the Muslims of Medieval Kashmir ate the meat of horse with relish and favouritely.[12]

1. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 147
2. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 56
3. Ibid.
4. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 339 ; *Iqbal Nama Jahangiri*, (Urdu Tr.), Muhammad Iqbal Salim Ghandhari, p.143.
5. *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, op. cit., ff. 38b, 247a-b.
6. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 339.
7. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, completed in 1616, MS. Bodleian No. 318, MS Research Library Srinagar, f. 63a.
8. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 354-55.
9. *Tuhfatul-Fuqra*, op. cit., f. 11a
10. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 353
11. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2 , op. cit., p. 177
12. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 56

A class of people who totally avoided from meat eating was of the Rishis of Kashmir.[1] The different fruits grown and eaten were the pears, cherries, plums, apricots, grapes, apples, nuts and preaches were much liked.[2]

According to Nagendra K. Singh, "Zain-ul-Abidin remained a strict vegetarian during the month of the *Ramazan* and he prohibited cow slaughter. His successors revived it under the persuasion of the Sayyids. It is, however, an indisputable fact that indigenous Muslims have a natural repugnance for beef and the pundits for pork. This is yet another example of their communal accommodation, amity and respect for each other's sentiments.[3]

Drinks:

Mostly in drinking purposes tea was taken by most of the people. It was imported from China to Kashmir via Ladakh route.[4] On the occasion of festival celebrations the participants were provided free liquor by the organizers of the celebrations.[5] However *Anguri* and *qandi* were the favourite drinks of the singers.[6]

But in the late 17th Century the utilization of liquor decreased as during this period Tabacco introduced in the Valley.[7] Therefore, during the 18th Century *Taobacco* was commonly smoked by a larger number of people of Kashmiri society.[8]

Because of the cold climate the fatty items like butter and other fats were not used because they were unsuitable for digestion inside a cold environment. That is why they wear a long woolen *kurta* to protect them from the extreme cold environment.[9]

Sources of amusement:

The people enjoyed various social activities. The outdoor amusements which they liked were; wrestling, fishing, cock fighting, ram fighting, bird catching, hawk fighting, pigeon flying, horse riding and archery. Zain-ul-Abidin introduced fireworks

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1. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 150
2. Ibid., pp. 145-46
3. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 57
4. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. I, f. 64b. MS. 4 Deptt. of History, A.M.U., Aligarh.
5. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, op. cit., ff. 404, 560.
6. Ibid., ff. 404-415a-b
7. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol. I, op. cit., f. 64 a
8. *Gulshan-i-Dastur,* op. cit., ff. 436b, 440b
9. *The Valley of Kashmir,* op. cit, p. 339; *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 147

hence the *banduq Khars* (gun makers) of Rainawari in Srinagar have been famous for gun makers and cutlers.[1]

However dice and chess were the first class indoor games of the Kashmiri people from ancient times.[2] Polo or *chowgan* was the outdoor; it is claimed that, it was introduced to Kashmir from Ladakh and Sultans and nobles mostly took part in this game. Sultan Ali Shah 1570-78 died of a fall from his horse while playing polo. Hunting and falconry were chief sources of amusement for the upper class of the society. Falcons were received from Kishtwar as a tribute.[3] Hockey a simple version of polo was mostly played by the common people.[4]

Another strange type of their entertainment was fighting with sticks and slings. This type of game was previously decided in a place at Srinagar and was played on Friday by the two youth groups. In the free fight between them resulting in serious injuries and sometimes deaths also.[5]

Throughout the entire Muslim period music and dance was very popular with the Kashmiris. Under the Chak rule it got much importance. Husain Shah Chak used to enjoy the company of musicians at every Tuesday of the week at his court.[6] Yusuf Shah Chak also patronized music at his court as a source of entertainment.[7]

Another popular form of social entertainment among the nobility was that, the *Jashans* or convivial parties were held. The regular *jashans* were organized by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in his lovely pavilions on the Zaina Lank, in the Dal Lake. On such *jashans* musicians and dancing girls delighted the audience with their performance. Wine also flowed freely there. The Mughal emperor Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan also organized such *jashans* on the *Takht-i-rawans* (provable Thrones) and in the charming Shalimar, Vernag and Achabal gardens.[8]

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 57-58
2. Ibid., p. 58
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 58-59
7. Ibid., p. 59
8. Ibid.

According to N. K. Sing, "the most interesting and at the same time, educative feature of their indoor life consisted in resisting historical anecdotes connected with the lives and adventures of Laleshwari and Shaikh Noor-ud-din Rishi, folk-tales like the *Rustum Dastan* (Kashmiri version of the *Shahnama* of Firdausi), Hemal-Nagari, Siva-Lagana, and the epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharta.* They were composed and recited by men and women, whose repertoire of stories and songs was very large. By this natural gift they were able to maintain a link between the past and the present." [1]

Festivals:

Fairs and festivals both religious and secular held an important feature of social life in Kashmir. Mostly these festivals come in the tilling and harvesting season. Although during the concerned period Hindus were in less quantity even though some of their festivals were highly regarded by their Muslim brethren also. However the festivals generally synchronized with the season of comparative leisure from outdoor activities like tilling and harvesting. The most famous among the Hindu festivals were the Shivaratri, Vyath Truwah, Gadabatha, Kichsri Amavas, Dussehra, Nagyatra and Ganachakra. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin celebrated the Viith Truwa (birth day of river Jhelum festival along with the Hindus of Kashmir. He also fed the devotees with cream and curries on Nagyatra and Ganachakra festivals and also gave quilts and money. Similarly Husain Shah (1562-69) also observed the Hindu festivals of Navreh or (New Year's Day) and Basant Panchami.[2]

Regarding the celebration of Viith Truwa festival Jahangir says, "on the night of 'Thursday, the 13th, the Kashmiris had lined with lamps on both the sides of the *Bihat* (*Jhelum*). It is an ancient custom that every year on this day everyone, weather rich or poor, whoever has a house on the bank of river, should light lamps as on the *Shabb-i-Barat*. I asked the Brahmans the reason of this, and they said that on this day the fountain head of the Jhelum River was discovered and the custom has came down from old days, that on this day must take place the feast of the *Viith Truwah*. *Viith,* means the Jehlum and they call thirteen *Truwah*. Undoubtedly, the lamp lighting was

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp. 59-60

good. I sat in a boat and went round to see it."[1] Jahangir on his visit to Kashmir observed this festival that the Kashmiri Hindus celebrated it with the great pomp and show.[2]

About the celebration of the Dasahra according to Jahangir, it was held on Monday, on 13th of Mihr (26th of September). It was an old custom in Kashmir when they decorated horses in the special stables and those of the *Amirs* and prided them.[3]

Hence the festivals which occur during the spring season were celebrated with more charm, lovely and colorfully than the other remaining festivals. Therefore on the festival ceremonies of Calera (April) fairs held in the open field and orchards, and the different people play different performances like dancing, acting and singing and displaying the fireworks etc.[4]

About the Caitra festival Srivara is of the opinion, "in the tubes rose balls of fire to the sky, beautiful as silver and worked like the planets Jupiter and Venus and they shone like golden stars of beautiful colour falling from the heaven." on the Hariparbat (Takht-i-Suliaman) at Srinagar on the hill side, was used as a place where the various festivals and athletic games were held. "The people besmeared themselves with Saffron, aloes, camphor and sandal wood paste on that day and looked beautiful." Sultan Husain Shah particularly used to take part in the above Caita festival.[5]

Sripanchami festival was celebrated on the 5th of the dark fortnight of *Vaisaha* (May). On this day in large gathering moved towards the Shanker-achariya Hill in Srinagar and enjoyed themselves with various ways. Suka is of the opinion, "Some held bouquets tastefully made of beautiful flowers to their noses, some were intoxicated and became uneasy when women, stranges to them, smiled, some drank wine and adorned their persons with flowers."[6]

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1. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 167-68
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 176; see also, Jahangir, *The Jahangirnama*, (ed. & tr.), Wheeler M. Thackston, New York, 1999, p. 347. Hence it is the proof of this thing that the Kashmiri Muslims continued to honour and regard the traditions and sentiments of their Hindu brethren as late as 17th century.
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 60-61
5. Ibid., p. 61
6. Ibid.

The Chak kings of Kashmir never interfered with the purpose of clash in festivals of non-Muslims. Hence Kashmiri Muslims always regarded and gave continued honour to the tradition and sentiments of their Hindu brethren. Such a behavior provides a route to the accommodation of communal sentiments.[1]

Akbar also celebrated the Hindu festival Dewali in Kashmir, when the boats, the river banks and the roofs of houses were illuminated with lamps, all providing a magnificent appearance.[2]

The Sufi Saints were mostly remarkable with the miraculous powers, even after their death. With the result Sufism became a bridge between various other creeds and Islam.[3]

Though Muslims arrived Kashmir, before the arrival of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his followers, but after his arrival Islam spread swiftly. Hence with the establishment of *khanqahs* and a network of branches which with the passage of time emerged proved beneficial in the spread of Islamic and spiritual values.[4]

Keeping the keen survey of the sites of the *khanqahs* in view, it appears that, most of these were established at important Hindu centers viz, Sopur, Srinagar, Mattan and Avantipur etc. this represents Sufis were also prepared to face Hindu religious and intellectual challenges. With the result Sufis also tried to prevail, the social philosophy of Islam among their disciples. However, it was due to the efforts of Sufis for the welfare of the people in general, such practices attracted non-Muslims to these *khanqahs*. The doors of such Sufi *khanqahs* were always remained open to all classes of people. This provided opportunity to the non-Muslims, and they gradually converted into Islam. Hence on some of the *khanqahs* there were large kitchens where food was served to the needy and poor besides the inmates and visitors.[5]

However in the Muslim community they also celebrated some of their socio-religious festivals. The two great festivals held among the Muslims were Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Zuha. Both the festivals were celebrated with great pomp and show. The other festivals found, Shab-i-Barat, Muharam, and Nauroz, besides these festivals,

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. *Kashmir The Troubled Frontiers*, op. cit., p. 123
4. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. 253
5. Ibid., p. 254

some local festivals like *Urs-i-Shah-i-Hamadan,* Urs-i-Makhdum Sahib, Urs-i-Charar-i-Sharif and Ziarat Hazratbal (also called Mehraj-i-Sharif) also became very popular.[1] Although Sufism in Kashmir was on peak stage during the 14th century, but the important thing is that the impact of Sufism remained continued on the Socio-Cultural life of the people even today many people who were not impressed by the living saints were attracted towards the tombs of the saints in difficult circumstances. So the Ziaratgahs, shrines and tombs of Sufis become the regular pilgrimage centers for all classes of Kashmiris, with the purpose to get their spiritual blessings. It must have their wishes and vows fulfilled. Lawrence further mentions, "Every Kashmiri believes the saints will aid if men will call', and they think that a dead saint is more efficacious than a living priest. And Kashmiris are called by foreigners *Pir-Parast* (saint worshippers).[2]

Besides the above major festivals, some of the local and religious festivals regarding the death or birth anniversary of various prominent saints and Sufis were also celebrated with great regard at various places in the Mughal Subah of Kashmir, viz the annual fair or Urs celebration of Shaikh Noor-ud-din at Charar-i-Sharif.[3] Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi at Srinagar, annual Urs of Shah Farid-ud-Din Baghdadi and Shah Asrar-ud-Din at Kishtwar, such death and birth annual ceremonies celebrated in almost in the entire valley. With the result, in the passage of time these ceremonies or festivals changed into annual fairs which attracted people from each and every corner of Kashmir.[4]

George Forster, visited Kashmir in 1783 he observes that, "when a Kashmiri even of the lowest order, finds himself in the possession of ten shilling, he loses no time in assembling his party and launching into the lake, solaces himself till the last farthing is lost." Therefore during the 16th to 18th centuries Kashmiris always

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 62
2. *The Valley of Kashmir,* 1895, op. cit., p. 286 But one thing is clearly visible that it was the socio-cultural impact of Sufism that even after the death of the saint on his Urs occasions at the tombs of the saints and *Ziarats* and shrines, assemble people from all the casts, faiths and areas and participate in the ceremony and on the occasion of *melas* on such *Ziarats* and shrines. It laid good impression on the life of Kashmiris and represented the symbol of unity and similarity, irrespective of caste, colour and religion. Hence people at such Sufi centers get liberty from the social boundations on the basis of caste system, regionalism and demolished all the restrictions of low and high born and rich and poor. It explains the riddle of the cultural synthesis and essential unity and oneness of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.
3. *Kashmir under the Mughals 1586-1752,* op. cit., p. 137
4. Desideri, *Travels,* p. 137

participated in both religious and secular festival type celebrations. All the sections of the people took part in such festive occasions.[1]

On all the festivals viz, Nauroz, Diwali and Eid-celebrations officially national holidays were celebrated and were enjoyed with such a pump and show that it looked even more fan-tasting than the Iranian style.[2]

Music and Singing:

In Kashmir a new branch of music called *Sufiana Kalam* was in vogue. Here *Sufiana* highlights its basis from Sufism. The term *Kalam* here generally means poetry. Thus this mystical poetry has about fifty four *maqams* (modes), few of them resembles to the Indian Ragas and accept the Hindustani names of *Bhairavi*, *Lalit* and *Kaiyan*, while others contain Persian names, viz, *Ishfahni*, *Dugah*, *Punjgah*, *Iraq*, *Rast-ii-Farsi* and *Sehgah.* The most vital tales are *Shetal*, *Nimdur*, *Dur-i-Khafif* and *Turki, Zarb*, but these vary from the Hindustani Tales.[3]

The Kashmiri music in both the categories of *Sufiana Kalam* and folk music has its unique feature that it is sung in singing group. In the folk music of Kashmiri society the well-liked types are *Chhakkri,* the *Tambur Naghma* and the *Bacha Naghma.* Although among the above mentioned *Chhakkri* was most admired among the Kashmiri people from the earlier period.[4]

So for the *Sufiana Kalam* of Kashmiri music is concerned, it has its resemblance with the Indian and Iranian musical features. It is quite clear that after the establishment of Islam, the Kashmiri music was no doubt largely influenced by Iranian music. The various musical instruments viz, Santur was used in Kashmir had originally its Persian origin and many other *Ragas* or *Muqams* are present in Persian as *Muqam*, *Duga*, *Muqam Nawa* and *Singha,* similarly a number Persian words are present in Kashmiri *Talas Sothal,* Neemdor, Chapandoz etc. prior to commencement with the singing of *Mukam* or *Raga* the verses of Shaikh-ul-Alam and of saint Lalleshwari were sung without Tall.[5]

The different musical instruments used in the Kashmiri music, but *Santoor* was most important one, it had one hundred strings over a hollow wooden frame

1. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 256
2. *Tarikh-i-Shahjahani*, op. cit., p. 94
3. *The History and Culture of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 337-38
4. Ibid., p. 338
5. K.L. Kalla, (ed.), *The Literary Heritage of Kashmir,* Delhi, 1985, p. 13

made of mulberry wood. Another important musical instrument was *Rabab* and it was generally used in the Kashmiri folk music and it was brought to Kashmir from Turkistan. Therefore besides these important musical instruments, *Dhukra, Saz, Sitar, Mizmar, Tambur* and *Ud* were generally utilized for such purposes.[1] *Lute* the instrument of music had its origin from Persia.[2]

Among the Sultans the credit goes to Hassan Shah Chak who was the great patron of music. He established a separate department for music under the management of Srivara. It is noticed about him that almost two thousand and two hundred musicians lived at his court.[3]

So for music and singing in Kashmir are concerned they totally are indigenous. Generally most of the boys and girls were gifted by this art. We have the evidences about some of the kings who were born as musicians and poets. Zain-ul-Abidin a Sultan of the 15th century was a great lover of music and was kind towards the musicians. He called various musicians and singers from different countries like Arabia, Iran, Samarqand, Khurasan, Kabul and India to Kashmir. However, the *ud* and *lute* were the favourite musical instruments of the rich and singing on the *tumbaknaris* (Kashmiri tables) was the past time of the Kashmiri women generally.[4]

Mirza Haidar Dughlat an orthodox *Sunni* of the 16th century had also a keen interest in the music. Jahangir states about him, "There were many skilled people there. They were skilled in music, and their *Lutes*, *dulcimers*, *harps, drums* and *futes* were celebrated." [5]

Hasan Shah (1472-84) was a composer as well as a poet. The last Chak ruler Yusuf Shah Chak (1579-86) was very much interested and great lover of song, beauty and nature. He liked both vocal and instrumental music. He married a Kashmiri poetess and singer Habba Khatoon the most genius and a beautiful lady.[6] She was most active lady in singing the Kashmiri songs. Many arts, music, painting etc. got prominence under her patronage.[7]

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1. *The History and Culture of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 338
2. *Zaina Rajatarangini*, (English Tr.), op. cit., p.172
3. *The History and Culture of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 338
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 62
5. *The History and Culture of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 339
6. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 62
7. Prithvi Nath Tikoo, *Story of Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 266-67

While as the music and singing under the Mughal and Afghan rule is concerned, they did not encouraged it. It may be that they were unaware about Kashmiri language or they had not sufficient time for performing and enjoying all these arts.[1]

Language

With the establishment of Islam in Kashmir we come across a number of scholars and saints who made crucial contributions in the fields of theology, medicine, Sufism, history etc. Both Hindus and Muslims studied various kinds of learning and contributed large share to knowledge.[2]

A man is understood by his style of expression or manner generally called by his language. It is the distinguishing and unique mark of his humanism. Socialization as a human being is made possible by his language. It is the mark of his culture. Hence the language of the Kashmiris is a symbol of proud possession like the other features and aspects of their natural environment viz, salubrious climate, fruit and flowers, peaceful atmosphere and picturesque scenery.[3] Originally the Kashmiri language is a branch of Dardic family of languages which includes Shina and Kohistani groups. The earliest specimen of spoken Kashmiri we come across in the *Rajatartangini* of Kalhana.[4]

In the 15th century during the Muslim rule we found the *Vayas* (sayings) of Lal Ded (Laleshwari) and Shaikh Nooru-ud-din as the existing specimens of the Kashmiri language. The sayings of Lal Ded are a terminology of Kashmiri, Sanskirit, Persian and Pahari words and phrases. Hence Shaikh Nooru-ud-din Wali besides a Rishi was also a poet. Both the Lal Ded and Shaikh Nooru-ud-din played crucial role in the Kashmiri culture by performing their sayings in the poetry form.[5]

According to Vigne, who mentions that in 1835 that in a group of one hundred spoken Kashmiri words, 25 were Sanskrit, 40 Persian, 15 Hindustani, 10 Arabic and 10 Tibetan. It indicates the various phases of cultural developments through which

1. Ibid., pp. 62-63
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

Kashmir had passed in a period of 650 years from the time of Kalhana to that of Vigne.[1]

Houses:

Hence in Kashmir during the medieval period, people mostly used timber for the construction purposes, because of its easy availability and cheapness it also protects the building from the damage in case of earth quakes. Mostly the buildings were erected up to fourth story in height.[2]

In *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haidar Dughlat states about Zainagir, Srinagar "In the town there are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh-cut pine. Most of these are at least five stories high, each story contains apartments, halls, galleries, and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who behold them for the first time bite the fingers of astonishment with the teeth of admiration."[3]

So for the construction material is concerned besides the wood and stone, bricks were also used in small quantity.[4] Jahangir in his Memoires has also complimented on the beauty of Kashmir added by the houses in the spring season.[5]

However the division of the stories arranged in such a way that the ground floor was used for the purpose of keeping the cattle, the second and third story was kept for their own settlement and the last loft formed by the roof was used as a store hall for the house hold goods.[6]

The roofs of house were constructing in a sloping shape, hence simply small planks fastened together with cords and covered with the sheets of birch-bark, so that it becomes water proof. Hence on these sheets of birch-bark some earthen layer was spread in order to grow white and violet lilies and tulips.[7]

Among some of these houses of the rich there were bath rooms attached to the kitchen because a big earthen pot called in Kashmir *"Mutt"* was fixed in the baths in

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1. Ibid., pp. 63-64. It also shows that there in Kashmir its language has been much impressed by the composite culture.
2. bid., p. 65
3. Quoted by N. K Sing, *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 65
4. Ibid., p. 65
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., pp. 65-66

such a way that the water in it can easily be heated from the kitchen's hearth. It was beneficial in the winter season when there one needs hot water.[1] On the banks of river Jhelum around the Dal Lake mainly the houses were built.[2] During the Mughal period the Kashmiris also had luxury house-boats and *Shikaras* (light boats).[3]

Social rites:

Matrimonial system:

In Kashmir in the medieval period, Hindus and Muslims favoured the early and arranged marriages.[4] The Kashmiri *Pandits* also performed a sort of *nikka* (marriage contract) ceremony before the marriage performance. Hence the Hindus name this contract as *Lagana Chirika*.[5] After the death of a Muslim on the fourth day his relatives perform *Chahrum*, but in the other parts of India it is observed as *Siyum* that is the third day ceremony after the death and on the 40th day Chehallum.[6]

So for the very dangerous evil in the Hindu society, Sati is concerned, it was in vogue up to 14th century, in Kashmir. But Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) on the advice of a remarkable Sufi Mir Muhammad Hamadani banned on Sati as is already mentioned. Ali Shah (413-20) in the 15th century continued the ban on this evil practice but Zain-ul-Abidin revived it to some extent. Hence during the Mughal and Pathan rule we did not find any case of *Sati* in the Valley but Aurangzeb in his visit and return from Kashmir in 1663 founded some cases in the lower hill states instead of prohibition.[7]

At the end of the 16th century A.D in Kashmir the four great Sufi orders viz, Suhrawardi, Kubravi, Naqashbandi and Qadiri were introduced. But Naqashbandi and Qadiri had little impression on the Kashmiris. The Rishi order as mentioned earlier was introduced in the 15th century, laid deep influence on the minds of the people, in compare to the active participation of the Suhrawardi and Kubravi Sufis in state

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1. Ibid., p. 66
2. Qazvini, *Badshsh Nama*, Vol. III, op. cit., f314a-b ; Kumbu, Amali-i-Salih, Vol. II, p. 33
3. George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia, and into Russia, by the Caspian Sea 1782-84*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1997, p. 9
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 65
5. Ibid., p. 66
6. Ibid., p. 67
7. Ibid.

politics, religion and social developments they were unable to make roads amongst people. Further more on the other hand thus Rishis preferred to live in seclusion and avoided the company of the worldly people.[1]

The early Suharwardi and Qubravi Sufis attention towards the elite class based on their purpose that they could change the outlook of their rulers.[2] Therefore, these Suhrawardi and Kubravi Sufis of Kashmir besides the religious positions like, *Qazi* and *Shaikh-ul-Islam*, few of them even held the high posts in administration viz, *wazir* and also performed the services of ambassadors, visited the royal court and nobles and even made matrimonial relations with them.[3]

The Sufis influence on the politics of Kashmir got strengthened during the rule of Sikandar. He very much regarded and respected to the saints and divines.[4] Jonaraja Jonaraja writes, "It was perhaps owing to the sins of the subjects that the king [Skindar] had a fondness for the Yavanas".[5]Mir Muhammad Hamadani a Sufi Saint, had such an influence on the state policy during the Sultan Sikandar that if Muhammad Hamadan's notice come about anybody who would be against his policy, he was arrested.[6]

"The Brahman as the supporters of the world," writes Jonaraja, "had taken refuge of Patnakara in order to preserve their part and this little Brahmana, became the favourite of Suha Bhatta. But Malanoddina [Muhammad Hamdani], the great guru of the *Yavanas*, feared that Ratnakara would rise in rebellion and caused him to be arrested".[7]

The Sufis when came from Central Asia and Iran, they not only preached in theoretically but they tried to introduce Islamic Culture in Kashmir, as Jonaraja is of the opinion that during the reign of Sultan Sikandar even the Hindus also adopted the Muslim dress.[8]

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1. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. 249
2. Ibid., pp. 249-50
3. Ibid., p. 250
4. Ibid., p. 251
5. Jonaraja, *Rajatarangni*, (English tr.), J.C. Dutt under the title, *Kings of Kashmir*,1898, (ed.), Srikanath Kaul, Hoshiarpur, 1967, p. 57
6. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. 251
7. *Rajatarangni*, (English tr.), J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 67-68
8. Ibid., p. 67

After the death of Zain-ul-Abidin who was a liberal ruler and during the reign of Sultan Haidar Shah (1470-72), Srivara writes, that the Non- Muslims, "at the instigation of the *mlechchas* [Muslims]" were persecuted. These Muslim would not be the common Muslims who had no influence on the court but these must have been the Ulama and the Sufis who had much influence on the elite class.[1]

After the death of Hasan Shah (1472-84) as is earlier mentioned, a group of Sayyids called Baihaqi Sayyids dominated the State politics in Kashmir for many years with the result in 1579 they even seized the throne of Kashmir and fully indulged in the state politics.[2]

The Sufis influence on the administration was not because of their efforts to join the court of the ruler rather it was the need in the defeats of princes and nobles as on many occasions they came to the Sufis and asked for their blessing and if these pretenders acquired power, then they themselves thought it necessary to follow the whims of such Sufis.[3]

So far as the conversion in Kashmir is concerned, it cannot be ignored that its credit goes to Sufis. They penetrated in Kashmir for the main purpose of preaching and teaching Islam to its inhabitants.[4]

Prof. Mohammad Ishaq Khan is of the opinion that, in the Valley of Kashmir there was no any pressure-group launched for the Islamized of Kashmir. But on the other hand Islam evolved as a medium of social protest against the Brahmanic culture. He states that as compared to the foreigner Sufis from Iran and Central Asia the local saints viz, Lal Ded and Shaikh Nooru-ud-din Wali more influenced and shaped the Islamic culture in Kashmir. The credit goes to them as to be the cultural mediators of Islam in Kashmir essentially in Hindu-Buddhist environment.[5]

According to Mohammad Ishaq Khan little doubt, then the impact of euologization of Lal Ded as an avantara of Kashmiris must have contributed a great deal to the process of Islamic acculturation in the Valley during 15th-18th centuries, so much so that Baba Dawud Khaki extols her to the skies in the following verses:[6]

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1. Ibid., p. 196
2. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, op. cit., ff. 148b-149a.
3. Ibid., ff. 80b-81a
4. *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, op. cit., p. 253
5. *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, (ed.), Dr. S.M. Afzal Qadiri, G.H. Gurku, Dean Students Welfare, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, 1997, p. 24
6. Ibid., p. 26

"Passion for God set fire to all she had,
And from her heart rose clouds of smoke;
Having had a draught of ahd-e-alast,
Intoxicated and drunk with joy was she,
One of this God-intoxicating drunk,
Shatters reason into bits,
A little drowsiness from it is header than
Intoxication from hundred jars of wine."

The Sufi saints of Kashmir were also influenced by the contemplation and devotion practices by the Hindus, and took part in healthy cultural symbiosis. The Muslims of Kashmir even during the 16th to 18th century sing Vakhs of Lal Ded, the most liberal *Sufia* poetess, Kashmiri women of the 14th century. This combination of cultures showed by the poetry of such saint's represents a symbol of composite culture in Kashmir.[1]

Ancient Kashmiri literature is found in large quantity mostly in verse outline. In the first stage i.e., till about 1555 we have Sri Kantha's *Mahaany Prakash*, Lal Ded's and Shaikh Nooru-ud-din Wali's *Waakh* and *Banasura Katha.* This literature was composed up to 1555. During the stage 1555 to 1752 (second period) Persian was confidently established as the official language as well as the language of the literature. The distinguished writers of this period were Mirza Kamal-ud-Din Kamil and Khwaja Habibullah Noushari. During the third stage (1752-1923), poetry took new forms, romance stories, legends of love and adventures, so with the passage of stages in the Muslim period of medieval Kashmir history, there varied a tremendous change in the language and literature.[2]

The changes in the social and cultural daily life of the people of Kashmir about which Jonaraja says, "as the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the *Shali* (paddy) crop, so did the *Yavanas* destroy the usages of Kashmira" [3] So the impact of Central Asian and Persian culture continuously remained increasing in the Kashmiri society.

1. *Kashmir And It's People Studies in the evolution of Kashmiri Society, Culture and Heritage of Kashmir* series IV, (editor), M.K. Kaw, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 218-19
2. *The Literary Heritage of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
3. *Rajataragni*, (English tr.), J.C. Dutt, & (ed.), Sri-Kanth Koul, op. cit., p. 67

In Kashmir during the Muslim rule though Persian took the place of Sanskrit as an official language, yet Sanskrit was also used side by side. As the *Wasiyyat Nama* (*Khalafat Nama*), the succession deed of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi a Kashmiri Sufi dated 1576 is also written in both Sanskrit as well as in Persian on Brich-bark sheet of 22 X 14 inches. It is preserved in the Museum at Srinagar; it is the earliest available document of such kind.[1]

So far as the calligraphy in Kashmir is concerned the Kashmiri Sultans were also took interest in it other than painting and sculpture and architecture. Though calligraphy had eight different styles but in Kashmir only two usually famous i.e., *nasakh* and *nastaliq*. As the former consisted of one-third straight lines and the later was composed entirely of curved lines. However some of the mosques and tombs built during the Sultanate still bear Persian and Arabic inscriptions in these two well-designed styles. It shows that art of calligraphy was prevalent in the Medieval Kashmir.[2]

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin invited many calligraphists from Persia and Turkistan. His purpose of inviting them was not only to decorate the buildings but they also worked artistically in producing many written manuscripts. Muhammad Husain was a renowned calligraphist of Chak period. The Mughal emperor Akbar gave him the title of *Zarin Kalam* (Pen of Gold). Jahangir complimented him as "the chief of the elegant writers of the day" and gifted him with an elephant. Another notable calligraphist of the Chak period in Kashmir was Ali Chaman Kashmiri.[3] Besides the Muslim Saints, there were a large number of *Pirs, Faqirs* and *Darwishes* in Kashmir.[4]

Kashmiris have different features of their Culture and Society with their geographical spots, buildings and their daily life articles of use. Few of the monuments and picnic spots charmingly located are the Mughal Gardens, Phalgam, Gulmarg, besides these the House boats and Saffron were the source of attraction to the outsiders of the Valley. The land of Pampur about 12 kilometers south of Srinagar is even toady famous for suitable for the cultivation of Saffron. Another more important article of their daily use in the winter season was Kangri. It is generally

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1 . *The History and Culture of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 330
2. Ibid., p. 341
3 . Ibid.
4. *The Literary Heritage of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 14

used by the common people. It is a portable fire pot protects the person from the extreme coldness of winter. [1]

The Kashmiri culture has a composite character, being a constituent of Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist basics.[2]

During the Mughal governor Fazal Khan (1698-1701) who was forward-thinking and took himself interest in the flood safety actions. His phase is recognized for an essential event, that in 1699 A.D., Khwaja Nuru-ud-Din Ishbari, a rich business man, brought to Srinagar the '*Mui Mubarak'* (the sacred hair of the Holy Prophet S.A.W.) from Bijapur (Deccan) South India.[3]

During the long period of thirty years of Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah's reign the political situation of Kashmir was very critical as it was the period of down fall for the Mughal rule. It was during this period Kashmir was invaded by many tribes like that of Bombas of Muzaffarabad (presently in Pakistan occupied Kashmir), Khokhas and Gujjars from Poonch and Hazara. Another phase was of Afrasiab khan the Mughal governor of Kashmir in 1748-51, was very cruel for the Kashmiri masses. By the year 1751 A.D the office of *Subah* of Kashmir appears to have become hereditary and practically independent of Delhi as many of the other states were also got their independence from the central powers of Mughal Empire. But it disturbed further as Kashmir fell under the hands of the corrupt officials and with the continuity of famines, that all ruined its economy. Although many Kashmiris left their home lands to settle outside Kashmir. With the result for the purpose of fairness in the government administration, two leading persons of Kashmir, Mir Muquim Kanth and Zahir Deddamari approached to Ahmad Shah Abdali and requested him to annex Kashmir as Punjab was already annexed by him. But it was again one of the great blunders of Kashmiris. Ahmad Shah Abdali easily conquered Kashmir and Mughal rule was put to an end. However the Afghans rule over Kashmir is considered one of the cruel rules in the Kashmir history. This brutal rule was also named as *Shan-i-Durani* (the Pathan rule).[4]

The Pathans ruled Kashmir for about 67 years. It was Ahmad Shah Abdali who conquered Kashmir in 1753. The Pathans were actually a nomadic tribe divided

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1. Ibid., pp. 14-15
2. Ibid., p. 15
3. *Story of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 69
4. Ibid., p. 70

in many groups. And finally they settled in the mountain terrain lying between the river Indus on the east and Kabul on the west. After the reign of Sher Shah Suri, the Afghans got some political importance as Ahmad Shah's successful conquests made the Pathans the autonomous rulers of Afghanistan and the adjoining territories, so in such territories Kashmir become also victim of this rule.[1]

The Mughals continued from Akbar to Aurungzeb to maintain peace and prosperity in the Valley. With such purpose they promoted art in the Valley. The great wall around Hari Parbat (Takht-i-Suliamam) and the Nagur-Nagar were built by the emperor Akbar at Srinagar. Jahangir and Shah Jahan besides providing work to the labourers in building roads and sarais also laid the famous Mughal gardens. As Akbar and Jahangir with frequent visits to Kashmir made it prosperous but during the later Mughal governors of Kashmir, it suffered from not only cruel rulers but by natural calamities, earthquakes, floods, and famines. All these factors affected the outlook of lives of the Kashmiris. But the Afghan and Sikh rule did not affect to the cultural aspects of the Kashmiris for the betterment of the people.[2]

During the Mughal rule there was Islamic influence on the conditions of the Kashmiri people. As in the reign of Shah Jahan even the ancient name of Anantnag was changed into Islamabad. Even today people remember it with the said Muslim name.[3]

The Pathan rule was more tyrannical for Kashmir. Mir Hazar Khan in 1793 was the cruelest of the Pathan rulers. He imposed *jazia* on the Non-Muslims but besides such cruel rulers there were some God-fearing Pathan rulers also, who employed many Kashmiri Pandits as *Peshkars, Sahihkars*, and *Dewans*.[4]

So far as the social life in Kashmir is concerned, both Hindus and Muslims, in urban and rural areas preferred to spend their lives at home, and preferred enjoying domestic life with wife and family. They consider it as a hub of their life. It is the pivot round which the entire social system moves.[5]

Literature:

1. Ibid., pp. 70-71
2. Ibid., p. 267
3. *Kashmir: Valley and its Culture,* op. cit., p. 236
4. Ibid., p. 237
5. Ibid., p. 238

During the Muslim rule in Kashmir the various Sanskrit works as made of Jagdhar Bhattas Stuti Kusumanjali (1350), Sri Kanthan's Balbodhini (1475), Vallabh Deva's Vignana Bhairvi (1550) and Shivopadh Yay's Vignana Bhairvi (1750). The Zain-ul-Abidin a great ruler of Kashmir got many books translated from Sanskrit and Arabic into Persian and Kashmiri languages. He even built a library for books. Though there are a number of books written in Persian still today are available. Some prominent authors of the period are, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (1521-94), Baba Dawud Khaki, Khwaja Habibullah Nawshari, Mirza Abdmal-ud-Din Kamil, Mullah Muhammad Mahsin Fani, Khwaja Abdul Karim, Baba Daud Muskani, Mullah Zihni, Mirza Kamil produced the excellent and remarkable work, *Bahar-ul-urfani*, compiled in 4 volumes and consisted 80,000 verses. This work was inspired by the philosophical thoughts popularized by Maulana Rumi.[1]

Actually during the Muslim rule people showed such a great interest in Persian leaning, as the Persian language now had became the official language of Kashmir. There was so much of popularity of Persian language that Kashmir got the title of Iran-i-Sagir (little Iran).[2]

Mullah Muhammad Mohsin Fani personified the spirit of Kashmiri culture in Persian literature. He wrote *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*. He was a distinguished thinker of the Muslim period and was born in 1615 A.D. He belonged to such a family whose concern was with learned and cultured. He travelled to many places and met the various philosophers and religious leaders of the time. He prepared *Dabistan* in 1645 critically examining the mythologies and philosophies of all religions on unbiased and objective manner.[3]

As the society in Kashmir under Mughals is concerned, we find the whole scenario of the social, economic, political and cultural history of Kashmir drastically changed.[4] Persian language which had been already prevalent with the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir but after the Mughal conquest of it, Sanskrit and Shadra script was almost withdrawn completely. Abdul Majid mentions, "New Sufi orders like Naqashbandi, Chishti and Suhrawardi were introduced. The indigenous Rishi

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1. *Society, Economy and Culture of Kashmir, Kashmir Through the Ages-3*, (ed.), Suresh K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, New Delhi, 1999, p. 44
2 Ibid., p. 44
3. Ibid.
4. *Kashmir under the Mughals 1586-1752*, op. cit., p. 133

(mystic) order and Kubravi order disintegrated along with Nur Bakshia order which was gaining ground during the Chak rule and ultimately diluted to the extent that it was rather difficult to differentiate the Shiasm and Nurbakshiyyah ideology."[1]

During the Mughal rule, especially in 16th - 17th centuries, the Kashmiri merchants, soldiers, poets, artisans and scholars not only worked in Kashmir but they also moved outside of Kashmir. They travelled to the entire India, thus in this way the Indian way of life also influenced the Kashmir society.[2]

On the other hand many learned people also penetrated during this period, Iranis, Turanis, Afghans and even people from Hindustan came to Kashmir and also settled in Kashmir.[3] It is no doubt that it gave a new shape to Kashmiri society.

The local chief of the adjacent hilly areas like little and Greater Tibet, Poonch also came under the submission, with result the people mostly the merchants, now without any restriction could move to these centers from one part to another. So these urban centers became central points of all socio-cultural activities. Srinagar being a capital city of Kashmir *Subah* was a hub of all social activities.[4]

As the administration and the ruling of the Mughal emperors consolidated their political sway over Kashmir and in 1620 A.D the Raja of Kishtwar was brought to knees by Jahangir's armies. As among the Hindu *reyots* of Kashmir once they complained against the Governor of Kashmir (Qulich) Kulbah Khan (1606-1609 A.D) to the Mughal emperor Jahangir with the result Jahangir immediately taken action against him by warning him in the following Persian words[5]:-

"Hakumat Panacha, Dadkhwahani tu bisyar,
Shukrguzarani tu kam, abi sabah bar labi
Tashnagam bire warnah as hukumatbarkhez."

"O protector of administration; thy complaints are many, thy thanks givers are few, pour cold water on the lips of the thirsty, or else get away from the administration."

When Jahangir saw that the Governor did not noticed his warning than he dismissed the Governor.

1. Ibid.
2. *Tarikhi-Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*, ff. 21ab. University Collection 69/2, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.
3. *Khawrikus-i-Salikin*, op. cit., ff. 70b-70ab
4. *Kashmir under the Mughals 1586-1752*, op. cit., p. 133
5. *Kashmir the History of Himalayan Valley*, op. cit., p. 214

Ahmad Beg Khan 1615-1618 another Mughal governor of Kashmir is considered by some people as the evil star for Kashmir. However, over all the Mughals were generally liberal Muslims and, regarded and respected all the faiths. Shah Jahan too expanded his rule from Balkh to Himalaya and also visited Kashmir several times.[1]

In 1642 A.D the famous Ali Mardan Khan built many sarais on the route of Pir Panchal. During this period an orthodox Khwaja Mam, was leading the Muslims who set fire to the house of the Mahadev. The news of this clash between Muslims and the Brahmans reached to the emperor Shah Jahan, he took action against the offenders.[2]

Fazal Khan 1698-1701 A.D who was not only respecting the scholars and holy men but he also built many mosques, schools, pavilions, sarais, embankments and gardens etc.. He was the first to whom the credit goes for introducing Kashmiris to the emperor's service.[3] Fazal Khan made his attention towards the various cesses and remitted many taxes, like *hasl-i-ghalak* (tax on earthen jars), *nimak* (salt duty) and *damdari* (tax on bird catcher). However in Kashmir there started a civil war among the Shias and Sunnies during the viceroyalty of Ibrahim Khan (1701-1706) due to this incident in the valley, Aurangzeb removed Ibrahim Khan from viceroyalty and ordered for the release of the Sunni prisoners.[4]

However the period from Aurangzeb's death onwards i.e., Later Mughals particularly from his successor's up to 1753 A.D is considered as the worst period in Kashmir. In 1720 A.D. Mullah Abdul Nabi Alias Mullah Khan was the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of Kashmir, who was succeeded by his son Mullah Sharaf-ud-Din as the *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. During this period there were clashes between Hindus and Muslims and also *Shia* and Sunni conflicts took place. Mullah Sharaf-ud-Din was put to death by the fifth Governor Adul Samad who came to Kashmir in 1722 A.D from Lahore. He executed fifty rebels living between the areas of Naid Kadal to Khwaja Yarbal. He favoured the Hindus and all restrictions placed on the Hindus were removed. Poet sang about him[5]:-

Haka an Samad Phutrum zin,

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp. 214-15
3. Ibid., p. 216
4. Ibid., p. 217
5. Ibid., p. 218

Na rud Kuni Sharaf na rud kuni Din.

"Samad (horse) came swiftly; there remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) anywhere."

It is claimed that about 770 gardens were laid by the Mughals in Kashmir that further beautified Kashmir, as it was already a land of attractions for the Mughal feelings.[1]

Abu'l-Fazl states about the Kashmiris that Kashmir has its own dialect, language and having different culture. Sanskrit is the language they used in writing books. They write chiefly on *Tuz* which is the bark of a tree. There is a majority of narrow minded conservatives whom he calls the people of blind traditions i.e., the Sunnis. And there were some Imamies and Nur Bakshis but they always were found in tussle with each other. They were mostly from Persia and Turkistan. Abu'l-Fazl again mentions that, "Mirza Haidar Dughlat in his book *Kitab-Rashidi* says that formerly all the inhabitants of Kashmir were of the *Hanafi* sect. In the time of the Fateh Shah, a man named Shams who came from Iraq and declared himself, to be a follower of Mir Muhammad Nur Bakash. He introduced a new form of religion which he called Nur Bakshi, which accords neither with the Sunni or Shia belief. And the followers of this sect, like heretics, consider their duty to revile and abuse the three caliphs and Ayesha, but unlike the Shias, they regard Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nur Baksh as the Mahdi and Apostle of his time, and they do not believe as the Shias do in saints and holy persons but consider them to be Sunnis.[2]

1. Ibid., p. 219
2. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 354-55

CHAPTER- VI

The Impact of Sufism on the Economic trends in Jammu & Kashmir during the 16th to 18th Century A.D.

The economic conditions of the people of medieval Kashmir were largely influenced by the Sufis, *Pirs*, *faqirs* and the other pious men. Not only the living Sufi saints but yet after their death, the periodical *Urs* (fairs) celebrations gave chance to the people of far-flung areas, villagers to meet in such large gatherings on such occasions and hence they exchange their commercial commodities, which promote the rural and village economies.[1]

The most famous agricultural product in the medieval Kashmir was saffron and during the Chak period, its cultivation was state monopoly.[2]

So far the fruits of Kashmir are concerned, perhaps no country, says Lawrence, has greater facilities for horticulture, as the Kashmir apple, pear, vine, mulberry, walnut, hazel, cherry, peach, apricot, raspberry, gooseberry, currant and strawberry can be obtained without any difficulty in various parts of the Valley. These fruits were helpful as food for the people in Kashmir.[3]

Besides the mentioned fruits the tasty cherry called as *gilas* was actually introduced in Kashmir from Europe via Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan. *Padshahnama* names it as *Shahalu* and mentions that it quite resembled to that of Kabul.[4]

Arts and Crafts in Kashmir:-

Fida Mohammad Khan states, "Since ancient times, the Kashmiris knew the technique of *Hamams* or hot baths and used it individually. With the coming of Shah Hamdan, this technique got a new turn. It was Sayyid Ali Hamdani, who introduced *Community Hamams* instead of private family *Hamams*. With every mosque, a *Hamam* was constructed to serve the needs of Muslims who would come for prayers. At the same time, *Community Hamams* were constructed in each *khanqah* or the Sufi

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 86
2. R.K. Bhan's pamphlet, *Economic silver ware industry in Kashmir*, 1938, p. 6
3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 348
4. Ibid., p.101

cloisters. The first community *Hamam* was constructed at Khanqah-i-Mu'alla, Srinagar."[1]

During the Sultanate period the artisans suffered miserably due to the scarcity of essential commodities created by the black-marketeers. But Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin took many steps so that the essential commodities should be reached to the needy and poor and he tried to improve their condition.[2] However Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak also tried to abolish many cesses in the interest of the artisans.[3] "The Mughals treated the artisans who were expert in different crafts, as sheer slaves whose services were forced through coercion and the captivity and terms of payment fixed arbitrarily, and as if all that was not enough, taxes too were imposed up on them.[4]

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani (1314-1385) a Sufi who came to Kashmir along with about 700 craftsmen from Central Asia for introducing various handicrafts which were not known to the Kashmiri people. The multi arts and crafts viz, *Kar-i-Qalam-dani* or *Paper machie*, *Khatum-band* or the art of ornamental wooden ceiling, *Namdas* or felt carpets, and some metal and leather crafts came from Samarkand, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Hamdan, and Mashad. No doubt Kashmiris are having their own needle work, carpet weaving, tile making, metal work, and wood work but after coming such master craftsmen, with the result there introduced new forms, techniques and orientation. Thus it was the Sufi saint's creative influence that Kashmiri artisans reached to the highest climax of glory. Thus the credit of the progress of Kashmiri arts and handicrafts renowned in the world goes firstly to Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani and after wards to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin '*Budshah'* (1420-1470) of Kashmir. But Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani is considered as the nation-builder of the Kashmiris.[5]

Fida Mohammad Khan Hassnian quotes Allama Iqbal Lahori's statement about the achievement of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani, as below:

"This great master from Iran, who was a direct descendant of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.), worked like a mason to build the fate of the Kashmiri nation. Great and

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1. *Shah Hamdan of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 130-31
2. *Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir An age of Enlightenment*, op. cit., p. 133
3. Abdul Ahad, *Kashmir to Frankfurt, A Study of Arts and Crafts*, New Delhi, 1987, p. 63
4. Ibid.
5. *Shah Hamdan of Kashmir*, op. cit., Preface, pp. i-ii

magnanimous as he was, he gave them education, wisdom, culture and religion. He was a dignified mentor of this beautiful Valley a darwish for the poor and an advisor to the Sultans. The people of this 'Little Iran' learnt arts and crafts through his guidance, thus obtaining fame in the world."[1]

During the time of Mir Sayyid Ali, "a *khanqah* was a community centre for the brother-hood, where they could stay, live, eat, pray and obtain guidance. Attached to the *khanqah* or around it, there were working centers, known as *karkhanas*, where the brother of the community engaged themselves in various handi-crafts and earn a living. The head of the *khanqah* also worked and stitched fur caps. There was a common *Langer* where meals were prepared for all inmates of a *khanqah* or guests."[2]

Mirza Haidar Dughlat states, "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which in most cities, uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting [*tabdan-Turash*], gold-beating etc. In the whole of Mavara-un-Nahr, except in Samarkand and Bokhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant."[3]

Further when the Mughal rule passed to the Shahani-i-Durrani that is to the hands of Afghan rulers they enhanced the tyranny to the misery of workmen by imposing the cruel taxes and increasing the prices of essential commodities. Lawrence is of the opinion that the Afghan rule was the most tyrannical and brutal rule, for the Kashmir. They only accumulated wealth from Kashmir and drained it to Kabul.[4]

In Kashmir copper vessels were utilized for cooking and eating food. The Kashmiris learned the art of tinning and enabling the metals from the Persians.[5]

During the medieval Kashmir the foreign businessmen i.e., traders from outside Kashmir maintained their business houses in Srinagar for their commercial purposes. On the other hand Kashmiri traders also introduced their branches in Indian towns of Punjab, United provinces (U.P.), Bengal and Cromondal coast and at

1. Ibid., p. ii
2. Ibid., pp. 111-12
3. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* (Eng. tr.), 1991, op. cit., p. 434
4. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 197
5. *Kingdom of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 576

Khurasani Turkistan, Lhasa, Kathmandu, and Bhutan, in all the mentioned countries Kashmiri products were in great demand.[1]

Shawl Industry in Kashmir:-

As far as the shawl industry in Kashmir is concerned it was from very ancient times flourished in the times of *Kurus* and *Pandus*. It was on a high stage during the period of Roman Empire, the Kashmiri shawls were in great demand and "were worn by the proudest beauties at the court of Caesars." Even during the Ashok's period Kashmiri shawls were largely used by the people but there after for a long this shawl industry in Kashmir disappeared.[2]

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin gave performance of shawl manufacture as a flourishing national-industry. It was during his reign shawls were exported to India both as presents and an item of profitable trade. In the various types of shawls *Jamawar* was considered as the best one. But the Mughal Emperor Jalal-ud-din Mohammad Akbar called the finest shawl by the name of *param naram*. From the Mughal annexation of Kashmir in 1586 A.D. Kashmiri shawls were used as an article of luxury though its price varied from a couple of hundred to several thousands.[3] According to another account Kashmiri shawls were known to Europeans as early as 1519 A.D.

Shawls were usually manufactured by the wool, generally a sheep in Kashmir yields two *ponds* of wool per year. Therefore the normal size of the shawl was 3 ½ yards long and 1 ½ yards in breadth.[4]

So far my study period of research in Kashmir is concerned (16^{th}-18^{th} centuries), the shawl industry prevailed during this period, in the 16^{th} century the shawl industry got an impetus through the utmost efforts of Naghz Beg, a resident of Khuqand.[5]

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1. *A History of Medieval Kashmir (1320-1586)*, op. cit., p. 237
2. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p.113
3. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, (Tr.), H. Blochman, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 96
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 113
5. Ibid. Khuqand (Khujand), the capital of Farghana, is now a town in the Soviet Republic of Uzbek, Russian Turkistan, situated on the Sir Darya. It manufactures Cutlery, Silk and cotton fabrics and is the centre of a large trade.

During the Mughal rule the shawl industry of Kashmir got such a progress that a shawl of one and a half square yards could be twisted and passed through an ordinary figure ring and was generally called as *ring-shawl* of Kashmir. Besides it the Mughals brought various Andijan shawl weavers to Kashmir, Hence these weavers adopted the Jiugha design which was jeweled ornament in shape like an almond, and was worn on the turban.[1] Regarding the shawls Abu'l-Fazl mentions that earlier to Akbar, shawls were often brought from Kashmir, people folded them in folds and wore them but the Emperor Akbar was very much interested in the Kashmiri shawls and he wore it in double-fold which adds more quietness in its looking. During Akbar's time most of the people started wearing it without folds just thrown over the shoulder. Thus Akbar put every possible effort to improve the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir.[2]

The various kinds of artisans made urban centers their natural shelters. Thus it is quite clear that the various famous industrial centers of shawl manufacture flourished in the city of Srinagar during the Mughal *Subah* of Kashmir.[3]

The Mughal rulers treated Ladakh as a feudatory part, keeping in mind the economic and commercial importance for the existence of shawls. So, they get shawl-wool as a tribute. However, in 1634 the supply of *pashm* (wool) was stopped with the result Shah Jahan sent his forces to Ladakh so that he may help the chief of Iskardo. Hence on account of peace with the Raja the supply was soon continued. Once again in 1682-83 during the Aurangzeb's reign the supply was threatened due to Tibetan attack on Ladakh but the Mughals interfered and saved the situation, with this they concluded a treaty and *pashm* was supplied.[4]

In the medieval Kashmir shawl was also an item of export or gift. Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya was presented one such Kashmiri shawl. The *malfuz* of Shaikh

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1. S. R. Bakshi, *History of Economic Development in Kashmir,* Srinagar, 2002, p. 6; Andijan is a town in Russian Turkistan, South of Sir Darya, a terminus of the Trans-Caspian Railway, 73 miles north-east of Khuqand
2. *The Ain-i-Akbari,* (tr.), H. Blochman, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 98
3. *Haft Iqlim,* Udbigah Iran, , A. H. 1010, op. cit., f. 214b. Also see, George Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England through the northern part of Kashmir,* Vol. II, London, 1808, p. 22
4. *Travels in the Mughal Empire AD 1656-1668,* Rep., 1999, op. cit., p. 421

Hamiddin Sufi of Nagore gives this information. It simply means that shawls were manufactured before the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir.[1]

During the Medieval period especially in the 16th century Srinagar was the main commercial center, besides it, some other places viz, Anantnag, Sopore, Shopiyan, Avantipura and Baramulla were also great trade centers. Salt and shawl-wool were the main commodities imported into Kashmir. The salt was mainly brought from Gujarat and Rawalpindi in the Punjab through the Pirpanjal route. But in case of climatic problem when snow covers the pass of Pirpanjal, it was imported from Ladakh and Tibet.[2]

Bernier at his visit to Kashmir mentioned about 17th century Kashmir, about its Shawl industry that, "What may be considered peculiar to Kashmir, and the staple commodity, which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children."[3] Jahangir in his memoire writes that "The shawls of Kashmir, to which my father (Akbar) gave the name of *parm-narm*, are very famous: there is no need to praise them. Another kind is *taharma* (*naharma* in printed version); it is thicker than a shawl, and soft. Another is called *darma*." However this *darma* was like a *jul-i-khisak* (a cover let, a little bear) and it was applied to a rough woolen coverlet and the custom was that it was put over carpets. Jahangir also mentions that the goat wool for the shawl manufacture was brought from the Tibet.[4]

The two important types of shawls in the Medieval Kashmir were named as *Tili* or *Kani* or loom-woven and *Amalikar*. "The design of the *amali* is worked in almost imperceptible stitches covering the whole ground in an elaborate pattern." Hence the *amali shawl* took sometimes years to complete a fine *Choga* of it. It is

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1. *Kashmir to Frankfurt, A Study of Arts and Crafts*, op. cit., p. 124 ; It is from a *Mulfuz* of Shaikh Hamid-ud-Din Sufi of Nagore, a Khalifa of Shaikh Moin-ud-Du-in Chishti, that we know that Nizamuddin Auliya had a Kashmiri shawl.
2. *Kingdom of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 562-63
3. *Travels in the Mughal Empire A. D. 1656-1668,* New Delhi, 1983 op. cit., p. 402
4 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II, (Eng. tr.), Rep. 2006, op. cit., pp. 147-48; However it comes into notice that almost all the Mughal rulers Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb 'Alamgir were all extremely fond of shawls of Kashmir, even during the reign of the later Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah a new floral design was introduced on the shawls and which named after the emperor as the Muhammad Shah Buta. cf., G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir,* New Delhi, 1979, p. 234

claimed that such designed *amali* shawl was invented by Saed Baba Alias ‘Ala Baba in the period of Azad Khan who was the Afghan governor of Kashmir from 1783 to 1785 A.D.[1]

It is claimed that Said Baba invented it when he observed a fowl walking on a white sheet of cloth. As the fowl left prints of its dirty feet on the cloth. From this sample an idea develop in his mind that if he covered these stains with coloured thread with the help of a needle, the cloth would look prettier. With the result he did so and found his attempt successful and then he improved it. In this way the quality of Kashmiri shawls improved which naturally effected Medieval Kashmir economy positively.[2]

During the Pathan rule in 1783 the price at the loom of an ordinary shawl was eight rupees, but the very good piece of shawl was sold at forty rupees. Both with the passage of time the prices of the shawl commodity with flowered work increased to one hundred and fifty rupees.[3] On the other hand during the Sikh rule particularly in 1835 a flowered finished pair of shawl had a cost of three thousand rupees.[4]

However during the Afghan rule over Kashmir, shawl industry received much impetus. The Afghans were also very fond of shawls. And it was during the Afghan rule in Kashmir that the Kashmiri shawls were in large demand in Iran, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Russia.[5] N.K. Singh quotes the George Foster’s statement:

“Kashmir has seen merchants and commercial agents of most of the principal cities of Northern India, also of Tartary, Persia and Turkey who, at the same time, advance their fortunes and enjoy the pleasure of a fine climate and country over which are profusely spread the various beauties of nature.”[6]

It is claimed that in 1796 A.D during the time of Abdullah Khan the Afghan governor of Kashmir, Sayyid Yahya a blind man had come from Baghdad as a visitor to Kashmir. On his return from Kashmir Abdullah the Afghan governor gave the

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1. *History of Economic Development in Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 5
2. *A History of Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 487
3. *A journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Persia, and into Russia, by the Caspian Sea 1782-84,* II, op. cit., pp. 18-19
4. Barron Charles Von Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab,* Karachi, 2003, p. 120
5. *Kashmir Today,* Vol. 7, (editor-in-chief), S. P. Shani, No., 4-6, Srinagar, nd., p. 38
6. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 114

Sayyid an orange coloured shawl as a gift. It is also stated that the Sayyid Yahya have presented the shawl to the Khedive in Egypt who in turn gave it to Napoleon Bonaparte, then engaged in the Egyptian campaign.[1] Lawrence is of the opinion that it was the first Kashmiri shawl which reached Europe and by Napoleon it was presented to the empress Josphine, and from that very time the Kashmiri shawls become fashionable in Europe.[2]

"The Kashmir fabrics, even of the finer kind, must have been known in the west of Europe as may be inferred from the tradition that the light veil fastened by a thin golden thread over the forehead, covering the back of the head and falling on the shoulders, of Leonardo da Vinci's famous portrait of Mona Lisa, wife of Francesco of Gioconda, a citizen of Florence, was in reality one of those earlier Kashmir fabrics that could be passed through a lady's ring as a test of its fineness." This fine, silky web of wool, says Lawrence, "worked with fanciful flowers, distinguished by the tints of its colours, its singular designs those strange palms draped in shades of great varieties, those borders formed of tortuous lines crossing each other in endless devices, all combine to inspire, at very sight of a shawl, those who see it with a desire to possess it. Fashion adopted it, protected it, and it soon become the indispensable item of an elegant wardrobe with all those who could afford to purchase and thus aspire to be considered well dressed. Woe to the husbands whose limited incomes would not admit of making their wives a present of a shawl ! Double woe to those whose husbands were to poor or too stingy to afford their wives the gratification of their wishes"[3]

Throughout the whole Muslim period in Kashmir the Islamic influence on the arts and crafts laid much contribution and impact to the material and economic progress of the Valley got much reputation.[4]

The *Gabba* Industry in Kashmir:-

Besides the shawls, there were other arts and crafts like the Kashmiri *Gabbas* etc. It was a unique kind of floor covering, manufactured from the old woolen

1. Ibid., pp. 115-16
2. *The Valley of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 376
3. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p.116
4. *Kashmir Today*, Vol. 7, op. cit., pp. 38-39

blankets and was in a variety of forms and designs viz, appliqué or Dal-guldar with a circular star in the middle named the Chand, embroidery, combined appliqué and the printed ones. Its origin in Kashmir is not known but there are different anecdotes regarding its origin. Among the one thrust its origin to refugee from Kabul named Abdur Rahman, about whom it is claimed that he manufactured an embroidered saddle-piece for his host Kamal Bat of Rastm village in the adjoining of Tral which lies in the south east of Avantipur. The design made for the *Gabbas* were chiefly borrowed from the natural scenery, animal and insect life, but during the Sikh rule its quality was improved, generally these were manufactured or prepared at Islamabad (Anantnag) where as printed *Gabbas* were specially prepared at Baramulla.[1] *Gabbas* were used for floor coverings and were manufactured during the Muslim rule in Kashmir.[2]

The Carpets in Kashmir:-

The carpet industry of Kashmir had its origin to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who brought carpet weavers from Samarkand. Though the industry flourished for a long time even after the death of Sultans, but with the passage of time it declined. Therefore in the 17th century under Ahmad Beg Khan who was the governor of Jahangir in Kashmir from 1614-1618, a Kashmiri Muslim Akhund Rahnuma went to Mecca to perform *Hajj* (pilgrimage) through Central Asia while on his returning journey he visited Andijan in Persia where he saw carpets were manufactured. However from that very place he brought with him the tools of carpet weaving art and flourished a carpet industry in Kashmir. Hence the pile carpets prepared in Kashmir were of great excellence with floral design of mosques, gardens, wild animals, gliding fishes etc.[3] During the Mughal rule in Kashmir the Kashmiri carpets were considered superior to those imported from Persia.[4] Besides the private carpet *karkhanas* (industries) there were also state owned *karkhanas*.[5]

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., pp.119-20
2. *Gulshan Dastur,* MS. 2314, op. cit, f. 562a
3. A *History of Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 490
4. *Badshanama,* (ed.), Maulvi Kabir-ud Ahmad and Abdul Rahim, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 448
5. Muhamad Waris, *Badshah Nama,* II, Transcript from Raza Library, Rampur, MS., in C.A.S., Department of History, Aligarh, f. 373

Silk industry in Kashmir:-

The industry of sericulture though was very earlier to the Sultans was practiced in Kashmir about whom Mirza Haidar claims as, that it was already there in his reign in 1536.[1] During the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin silk industry was considered as the queen of textiles.[2] Mirza Haidar also says that there were a large number of mulberry trees and only their leaves utilized as a food for the silk worms. However the origin of silk industry in Kashmir is not known, but it was ultimately connected with that of Bukhara, with which it had inter change of seed and silk. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin improved the silk industry in Kashmir.[3]

The sericulture was prevailing during the Mughal rule, as Abu'l-Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, "the mulberry is little eaten, its leaves being reserved for the silk worm. The eggs are brought from Gilgit and Little Tibet, in the former of which they are procured in greater abundance and are more choice."[4] Jahangir also almost repeats Abu'l-Fazl's statement and says, "There are (*tut*) mulberries everywhere. From the foot of every mulberry-tree a wine creeper grows up. In fact, mulberries of Kashmir are not fit to eat, with the exception some of trees grown in gardens but the leaves are used to feed the silk worm. They bring the silk worms eggs from Gilgit and Tibet."[5]

However it signifies that Mughals organized the silk industry but it is difficult to provide accurate details because of insufficient information from the sources. Though after the Mughal rule, the Afghans also encouraged silk industry in Kashmir.[6]

Kashmir.[6]

Paper production in Kashmir:-

No doubt Kashmir is gifted by the Almighty by a number of natural resources among them was an ancient and indigenous paper called *Bhoj Patar* (betula Tartarica). This plant is even, still available in the forests of Kashmir about whom

1. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit, p. 367; *A History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 490
2. *Kingdom of Kashmir*, op. cit, p. 559
3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 367; *A History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 490
4. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 353
5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II, (Tr.), op. cit., p. 146
6. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit, p. 367; *A History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 490

Abu'l-Fazl, in *Ain-i-Akbari* writes, "The Kashmiri people have a separate character which they use for manuscript work, and they write chiefly on *Tuz* which is the bark of a tree, worked into sheets with some rude art and which keeps for years."[1] In the time of emperor Akbar *Bhoj Patar* was largely used. The Hindu writers also used it even up to 19th Century. During the Mughal rule besides the other writing purposes, the Sufis and *Pirs* also used it for writing amulets (*tawiz*). Moreover there is a written *Bhoj Patar* manuscript in Srinagar Museum dated 1576 whose size is 22x14 inches which is the *Wasiyat-nama* (succession deed) of the famous Kashmiri Sufi Hazrat Makhdum Shaikh Hamza. It is considered as earlier extant specimen manuscript on *Bhoj Patar*.[2]

As for as, the paper manufacture in Kashmir is concerned, it was once known and famous for its paper quality. The paper from Kashmir was demanded in India for manuscripts and was also utilized by all those who wished to import dignity to their correspondence. About the manufacturing or preparation of paper Lawrence mentions, "The pulp from which paper is made it's a mixture of rags and hemp fiber, obtained by pounding these materials under lever mill worked by water power. Lime and some kind of soda are used to whitening the pulp, which is taken from the mills in the Sind Valley and Dachigam Nullah to the factory in the city. The pulp is than placed in stone troughs or baths and mixed with water and from this mixture a layer of pulp is extracted on a light frame of reeds. This layer is a paper which is pressed and dried in the sun. Next it is polished with pumice stone, and then its surface is glazed with the rice water. A final polishing with onyx stone is given, and the paper is then ready for use".[3]

Kashmir was having a good position in the production of fine paper.[4] The paper from Kashmir was in great demand in India.[1] Besides India a large quantity of paper was exported to Persia via Ahmadabad generally brought from Kashmir.[2]

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1. *The Aini-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 354
2. *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1320-1819*, op. cit., p. 415. It was also the livelihood of a large number of Kashmiri people by copying Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit manuscripts. The *Bhoj Patar* was used for amulets (*tawiz*) by the Sufis and the Sufis, *Pirs*, and *Ulama* even today in many parts of Kashmir uses it for such amulet purposes. It is also considered as the sacred paper by the Kashmiri Muslims as there on the *Bhoj Patar*, there can be seen a symbol of Arabic alphabet '*Alif*' . Some people claims that this '*Alif*' represent God's name i.e., Allah. It should be one of the reasons that Sufis or *Pirs* always utilized it for writing amulets.
3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, (1895), op. cit., pp. 379-80
4. *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, 1869, op. cit., p. 22

However it is believed that the process of making rag paper was first discovered in Samarqand and during the 14^{th} and 15^{th} centuries it was introduced into Kashmir from Persia and Samarqand through the Muslim refugees.[3] However during the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's reign it got Royal patronage and he established such industries now in his official residence.[4] Lawrence also highlights that it is believed that paper making industry and book binding art was introduced by Bud-Shah (Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin) who, invited the paper workers from Samarqand to Kashmir and they settled in the Nawa Shar district of Srinagar. He also mentions that three qualities of paper. *Farmashi, Damashti*, and *Kalamdani* were in use besides it, *Rangamas* which was coloured paper, used for packing purposes.[5] However, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi a Kashmiri Sufi and scholar in his letter he addressed to Abdul Qadir Badauni and he writes:

"If you should have any need of Kashmir paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmir the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing on which can be washed from the paper as completely that no trace of the ink will remain as you yourself have seen."[6]

There were many things of export and import in Kashmir, "until the establishment of Mughal rule, Kashmir remained to some extend a self-supporting country as for as necessaries of life were concerned, with the exception of salt which is not available here, shawls, woolens, rag paper, and paper-machie articles, *zeera* (cumin seed), dairy products, dry and fresh fruits, baskets, honey and forest herbs, etc. had a rich and brisk export trade after Kashmir became a Mughal province" However, the Muslim pilgrims from Yarqand, Samarqand, Bukhara and Kashghar passed through Kashmir (Srinagar) on their way to Mecca and Medina and brought or took with them horses, carpets, and *namdas*, silk, China tea, pottery, gold and other

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1. *Kashmir under the Mughals*,, op. cit., p. 222
2. Ibid.
3. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 127, The refugees or Sayyids mentioned above, most probably were the Sufi saints who migrated from Central Asia to various places and among such saints a few migrated towards Kashmir and brought with them this art from Samarqand and introduced it in the Kashmir which ultimately promoted and had sound impact on Kashmir economy during 14th, 15th and hence up to the 16th and 18th centuries.
4. Ibid.
5. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 380
6. *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*, II, op cit., P. 144

precious stones.[1] With the result by the increasing export and import trade after 1587 A.D. it generally enhanced the national income of Kashmir and also improved the standard of living proportionally.[2]

George Forster in his Journey in 1783 A.D. when Kashmir was ruled by the Afghans he wrote, "the Kashmiris fabricate the best writing paper of the east, which was formerly an article of extensive traffic; as were its lacquer ware, cutlery, and sugars; and the quality of these manufactures clearly evince, that were the inhabitants governed by wise and liberal princes, there are few attainments of art which they would not acquire"[3] Hence during the Mughal and Afghan times i.e., 16th - 18th century it was Kashmiri rag paper which was in larger demand in India.[4]

Calligraphy in Kashmir:

Muhammad Husain Kashmiri who belonged to the later Sultanate period and he joined the service of Akbar in 1586 when Kashmir was annexed by the Mughals. Akbar titled him with great honour as *Zarinqalam* (the golden pen) as the grace, beauty and summitry of his compositions captivated the Mughal emperor Akbar.[5]

Jahangir bestowed Muhammad Husain as 'the chief of the elegant writers of the day' a mark of his great appreciation of the art of Muhammad Husain, an elephant was presented to him. In 1020 A.H. / 1611 A.C. Muhammad Husain passed away from this world. Ali Chaman Kashmiri was also a calligraphist who was attached to the Akbar's court while as Muhamad Murad Kashmiri was a calligraphist in the court of Shah Jahan, and the emperor gave him the title of *Shirin Qalam* (the sweet pen). Mulla Baqir was another Kashmiri who was also in the Shah Jahans service.[6]

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1. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 144
2. Ibid., p. 145
3. *A Journey from Bengal to England through the northern part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia, and into Russia, by the Caspian Sea 1782-84* , Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 19-20
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 127
5. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, (Tr.), H. Blochman, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 109
6. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 2, op. cit., P. 559

The scripts generally used in Kashmir for the calligraphy were: in Arabic-*Kufi, Naskh, Maramat, Suks, Riga,* and *Raihan*; in Persian-*Nastliq, Shikast, Khate-e-Gulzar, Nakhum, Shikast-amiz* and *Shafia*.[1]

Science:

With the coming of Islam in Kashmir by the Sufi saints as besides the other techniques which were brought by the emigrant Sayyids to Kashmir side by side the improvement in Science cannot be ignored about which Mohammad Ishaq Khan states, "the new skill of Persian and Arabic medicine were practiced by those of the like persuasion. One of the great *hakims* of the Sultanate period was Mansur bin Muhammad. He wrote the *Kifaya-Mujhidyyah*, a treatise on medicine. This book was dedicated to Zain-ul-Abidin. Another book by the same author on the anatomy of the human body with illustrations entitled *Tashrih-bit-Taswir* was dedicated to Timur's grandson Mirza Pir Muhammad."[2]

Production of Saffron in Kashmir:

So far the cultivation and purification i.e., separation of saffron from its flower or petals is concerned, during the Chak rule it was done and collected by forced labour. The rulers pressed the men for the separation of saffron from the petals and the stamens and they were given salt instead of wages, the man who cleans two pals receiving two pals of salt. But under Ghazi Khan the son of Kaji Chak picking and separation of saffron flowers by compulsion was discouraged. The men who were employed to pick the saffron flower were given eleven *traks* to clean, out of which they were given one *trak* as their wages. Besides it the remaining ten *traks* they had to furnish two *Akbarshahi seers* of clean dry saffron i,e., for the two *Akbarshahi mans (maunds)* saffron of unclean saffron flowers they were given two *Sers* of cleaned

1. Diwan Kirapa Ram, *Gulzar Kashmir*, Lahore, 1870, p. 505. Thus there was much Persian influence on the calligraphy of Kashmir art.
2. *Perspectives on Kashmir, Historical Dimensions*, op. cit., p. 166

saffron. But this practice was abolished by Akbar during his third visit to Kashmir in 1597 A.D.[1]

Saffron was largely cultivated at the place called Pampur which comes under the district of Maraj south of Srinagar on about 12 koses, and it was also cultivated in the *Pargana* of Praspur near Indrakol, extend over a land of about one kose.[2]

Saffron was chiefly exported to India.[3] Besides India it was also exported to Yarkand, Tibet and China.[4] During the 16th and 18th Centuries some English and Duch merchants too purchased Saffron from Kashmir.[5] Saffron of Kashmir is considered as the best saffron grown in the world. It is superior in quality to that grown in Italy and Morocco.[6]

The people who plucked the Saffron flowers they were given salt for their wages. Because Kashmir had no production of salt and they brought it from Hindustan.[7]

Taxes and levies in Kashmir:

The main source of income to the royal treasury during Medieval Kashmir was from its land revenue. Therefore, the rulers mainly depended up on agriculture for running the administration of the country.[8] Hence during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, from its production income was more than one crore of rupees and the income of one crore and thirteen lakhs was entered in the royal treasury.[9]

However in the 16th century the tenants gave up their lands as the continuous wars, further more the crop fields were badly damaged which too had affected the peasantry class. The newly employed *jagirdars* and the conquering army exploited the economy by suppressing the peasantry, and as a result Zain-ul-Abidin's achievements

1. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, (Tr.), H. Blochman, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 90 One Kashmiri *Trak* = 8 *Sers* (of Akbar) = 4 Kashmiri *Mans*; 1 Kashmiri *Man* = 4 Kashmiri *Ser*; 1 Kashmiri *Se*r = 7 ½ *Pals*
2. Ibid., p. 90 ; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II, Rep. 2006, op. cit., p. 177
3. Mutamad Khan, *Iqbalnama Jahangiri,* Vol. III, Bib. India, Calcutta, 1865, p. 571
4. *Journey from Bengal to England through the northern part of Kashmir,* Vol. II, op. cit., p. 22
5. William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1618-1621*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, p. 169
6. R. C. Arora, *In the land of Kashmir, Ladakh & Gilgit,* Srinagar, 1989, p. 62.
7. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir,* Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 178
8. *Kashmir Under the Mughals 1586-1752,* op. cit., p.36
9. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol.1. (Urdu tr.), Dr., Shms-ud-Din Ahmad, *Shams-u-Tawarikh,* op. cit., p. 280

with regard to agriculture growth faced a big setback.[1] As a result there were many revolts, though the policies of Akbar were not responsible for the agricultural downfall of Kashmir, who started taking some steps to recover the agricultural decline.[2]

The steps taken by Akbar brought fruitful results. And once again peace and prosperity returned to the *Subah* (province) of Kashmir. [3] There was a strict supervision over the revenue officials, and, it was also assured the safety of the tenants who were called back to their home villages, to work in the fields. The policy of land revenue reforms was followed by Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. It affected the agriculture to that extent that during the last days of Jahangir's reign, on the advice of Shah Jahan, 50 percent of the *madad-i-mash* grants were made from barren lands (*Ahya*) which was directly brought under cultivation.[4] We can't find accurate *'acres'* of land that was under cultivation during this very particular period.[5]

The 19th century writer Pir Ghulam Hasan Khoyami, in his Persian chronicler informs that during the reign of Jahangir the total sum of production income in Kashmir which was prepared by Asif Khan, was about forty lakh *Kharwar* along with the *jagirs* and the salaries of the soldiers in total, out of which thirty lakh seventy nine thousand forty three *Kharwar** and eleven *Taraks* were entered in the *Khalsa* of the royal treasury. It was used for different purposes to run the administration like payment of salaries of the different officials and servants of the *Subahas* besides expenses on the works of the public reliefs and construction etc. The balanced sixty thousand of rupees were used for purchasing and selling of the saffron, glasses and horses etc. by the traders of Kashmir.[6] Badaoni in his Persian work writes that Akbar termed Kashmir as "*Bagh-i-e-Khas*" i.e., his Special Garden.[7]

Besides the land revenue there were many other cesses, viz ferry-toll, bridge-toll, tax on imports and exports, tax on arts and crafts (*rasum-i-hirfa*), tax on fire-wood (*wan-waziri*), on cattle (*gaw-mirbahri*), and on trees (*Sar darakhti*). From the

1. *Kashmir Under the Mughals*, op. cit., p. 36
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 36-37
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 37
6. *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol. 1. (Urdu tr.) Dr., Shms-ud-Din Ahmad, *Shams-u-Tawarikh,* op. cit., p. 280.
   * 16 *Taraks* = 1 *Kharwar* , that is equal to 80 k.g's of modern weight scale. These were the Kashmiri weight scales in the Mughal Medieval Kashmir.
7. *The Muntakhabut-Tawarikh,* (Persian Text), Vol. II, 1865, op. cit., p. 369

villages the male adults forced labour was demanded. Taxes like cremation tax and *jizia* were imposed on the Hindus on the other hand Muslims had to pay *Zakat.* But Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin and Mughal emperor Akbar abolished various types of taxes like cremation tax, the *jizia* and the *begar*. Though few cruel and dishonest Mughal and Pathan governors imposed some new taxes, the Mughal governor Itiqad Khan (1620-23) introduced the *begar* system for collecting saffron flowers and levied tax on fruit trees, and increased the taxes. However the Pathan governor Hajji Karimdad Khan (1776-83), imposed some heavy taxes viz, *Zar-i-niaz* (offering tax) *Zar-i-ashkhas* (income tax), *Zar-i-hubbah* (grain tax) *Zar-i-Dudah* (chimney tax), *dagh shawl* (tax on shawls), and *damdhari* (tax on bird-catchers).[1]

Sultan Shah Mir fixed 1/6th of the grass produce. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin continued it but his successors charged 1/3rd of the total produce. But during the Mughal reign in the time of Akbar land was measured and assessed and fixed 1/3rd of autumn produce (*kharif*) as the share of the state for each *patta* of land was fixed at two *traks* of the grass produce. Later on second assessment was therefore carried out under the supervision of Husain Beg Shaikh Umri and Qazi Ali. The whole Kashmir was divided into 41 *parganas*. Moreover the revenue of each *pargana* was fixed in both cash and kind. Such type of taxation practiced continuously till 1819 when Muslim rule ended in Kashmir.[2]

R. K. Parmu states, "situated amidst natural panorama of hills, dense growth of trees, alluvial fields, and a stream running by the Kashmiri village, economically speaking, was a self-sufficient unit. There has been the harmonious coordination among the special group of workers as we find in an Indian village, the husband man, the womenfolk, the carpenter, the weaver, the black-smith, the potter, the cobbler, the washer man, the shepherd, the *won* (grocer), the *glladar* (corn dealer) and the *Pir* and *Faqir* who have all been connected with the village economy, contribute their share individually as well as collectively, to the economic stability of the village. The

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1. *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1320-1819,* op. cit., p. 398
2. Ibid., p. 399 *'Zikat'* as per the Islamic rules of *Shariat,* the Muslim rulers of Kashmir collected '*Zakat'*, though it was not obligatory yet under the reign of certain kings it was realized like other taxes of the state and was imposed to every person except the boatmen. Thus the income from the *'Zikat'* tax was deposited in a separate treasury and was spent for the welfare of the needy and poor among the masses which enhanced over all the economic development of the state. cf., N. K. Singh, *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 178

periodical *Urs* (fairs) gave to the remotely placed villagers opportunities to meet and exchange their commodities."[1]

Art and Architecture:

With the establishment of Islam in Kashmir through the Sufis, however, it was the time that, the various immigrants as a number of Sayyids, theologians, artists and litterateurs also came to Kashmir who besides the other aspects like literature etc. also affected the existing pattern of art and architecture of Kashmir.[2]

In Kashmir wood was also used for beautiful ceilings of perfect design, it was prepared by the carpenters who with marvelous skill joined the pieces together with the thin slices of pine wood into geometrical designs. This whole process is called *Khatam-band* (ornamented ceiling) one can also find such ceilings in the houseboats, and walnut wood have been mixed with the lighter shades of pine. The excellent Kashmiri wood work or Kashmiri ceiling could be seen at the famous shrine of *Naqashbandi* that is near the Jami Masjid of Srinagar, similar type of design and ceiling are found in Samarqand, Bukhara, Persia, Constinople, Algiers and Morocco.[3] While as the good specimens of lattice-work (*tabdan tarashi*) are found in the mosques of Shah Hamdan, Bahauddin Sahib and Madin Sahib. The lattice work got much impetus during Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1543) and Bernier found it in his travels 1663.[4] The stones were already used during the Hindu period but during the Mughal rule besides the wood work, they used stones, for the construction of pavilions of the Mughal gardens in Kashmir, such expenses also expanded and stimulated the economic activities of the Kashmiri people.[5] As wood carving was an art during the Sultanate period though the lattice work done carved out door of the mosque of Madan-i-Sahib and in the Jami Masjid and mosque of Shah-i-Hamdan were rebuilt under the Mughals on the original pattern which signifies the skill of Kashmiris regarding the mentioned art.[6]

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1. Ibid., p. 406. The villagers in Kashmir every year with great regard as a *murid* to their *Pir* took with them vegetables, rice and money and offered it as a *niaz* to their *Pirs* and *Fqi*rs.
2. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 234
3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 379
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 136
5. Ibid., p. 137
6. Ibid, p. 264

The Muslim architecture in Kashmir replaced the stone constructing material by wood, by the Muslim builders.[1] It was also one of the reasons for the use of wood that wood was easily available in abundance quantity and was less liable to damage during the earth quake accidents.[2] The wooden style of Kashmiri architecture owes its character of influence from Ghazni, Afghanistan.[3] The *Khatam-band* wood technique of Kashmir architecture proves its origin from Persia or Central Asia.[4] Moti Lal Saqi quotes Herman Goetz's statement regarding the Kashmiri Muslim architecture, "the preceding wooden architecture of the last medieval period, cubic block houses with a low pyramidal grass roof and a *mazina* on top with spire reveal that it is obviously an adaptation of Buddhist *Chatravali* and Hindu *Sikhara*. The Jama Masjid of Sikandar adopts this block house type to the Persian mosque with four *aiwans* arranged crosswise and interconnected by large wooden pillars."[5]

Thus the first mosque in Kashmir is concerned "It is commonly believed the spire, dome and arch are the main features of Muslim architecture. The arch was introduced here firstly when the first mosque was constructed. The mosque of Rinchana is probably the first mosque built in the city."[6] But this mosque is not in a good condition for any kind of archeological survey and information. Thus the Islamic arts and crafts in Kashmir proved for its prosperity and the Islamic architecture signifies the composite cultural symbol of Kashmir.[7]

In Kashmir there are many Mosques, *khanqahs* and Sufi shrines, plates of all those important places which covers the prescribed study, had been enclosed in the appendix.

Sultan Sadru-ud-Din (Rinchan's) tomb:

Inscription in Urdu on the wall of one side of grave of Sultan Sadru-ud-Din (Rinchan Shah) on a white marble fixed by Jammu & Kashmir Government, reads, that Rinchan Shah came to Kashmir from Ladakh his home land, during the last

1. *Kingdom of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 582
2. Ibid., p. 585
3. Ibid., p. 587
4. *Kashmir Today*, Vol. 7, op. cit., p. 13
5. Ibid., p. 14
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

Hindu ruler Suhadeve in 1301-20 A.D. During those days Dulacha also called Zulju a Tatari invaded Kashmir. In the meanwhile Suhadeve left to Kishtwar to save himself. However, Ram Chandar Raina the commander-in-chief of Suhadev's army fled to the fort of Kangan-gir (Laar). Thereafter, Zulju returned back from Kashmir after plunder and atrocities. Rinchan Shah in 710 A.H./ AD 1320 after defeating Ram Chandar Raina at Kangan-gir, himself became the ruler of Kashmir. During the reign of Sultan Rinchan Shah 720-22 A.H./ AD 1320-23 the first great Sufi saint Sayyid Sharf-ud-Din Bulbul Shah came to Kashmir from Central Asia. It was his influence, that Rinchana got converted to Islam from Buddhism along with large followers and family members. He was named as Sultan Sadru-ud-Din by his *Pir-o-murshid* Bulbul Shah. Thus Sultan built the first Masjid, *khanqah* and a *Langar* (alms-house for serving food free of cost to the needy, poor and to the Sufis) in Kashmir, Sadru-ud-Din (Rinchan Shah) ruled over Kashmir for a period of three years one month and five days, and passed away from this world on Friday, 25th November 1323 A.C. / 723 A.H.[1] Plate 1(a) Appendix.

The tomb of Sultan Sadru-ud-Din is located just on left side of the river Jhelum at Bulbul Lankar between Alikadal and Nawa Kadal. Because of his braveness and his protection to the Kashmiris, the king is titled as the lion among men also called *Sher-i-Kashmir*. The grave of Sultan Sadru-ud-Din at Bulbul Lankar is a protected monument by the government of Jammu & Kashmir and is shown in Plate 1(b) Appendix.

Shrine of Sayyid Abdur Rahman Bulbul Shah:-

Sayyid Abdur Rahman Bulbul Shah, also called as Bilal belonged to the Suhrawardi Sufi order and was among the disciples of Shaikh Shabu-ud-Din Suhrawardi,[2] had arrived Kashmir, in between 1320-23 A.D.[3]

Bulbul Shah passed away from this world on 7th Rajab, 727 A.H / 1326 A.C in the reign of Udayanadeva.[4] The shrine of Bulbul Shah is just at a distance of 10 to 15 meters from the tomb of Sultan Sadru-ud-Din (Rinchan Shah) on the east side of the

1. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, op. cit., P. 126
2. Pirzada Abdul Haq Tahri, *Tarikhi-i-Buzurgan-i-Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2009, p. 142
3. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Part. III., (Urdu tr.), *Tazkiray-i-Auliy-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 30
4. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. I., op. cit., P. 126

river Jhelum. Hazrat Sayyid Abdur Rahman Bulbul Shah's shrine is the first Muslim Sufi shrine of Kashmir. However the old shrine is demolished and recently it is under construction by the assistance of Auqaf Committee Bulbul Shah Lankar, with the co-operation of the government of Jammu and Kashmir. The old Shrine of Bulbul Shah is shown in Plate 2 (a) and the under-construction shrine is shown in the plate 2 (b) Appendix.

However, in the inner part of Bulbul Shah's shrine there is also a grave of Hazrat Allama Mullah Shah. It is claimed that the later already wishes that his tomb should be near the grave of his companion and disciple Mullah Ahmad.[1] Hazrat Allama Mullah Ahmad was a great *Alim* and he came to Kashmir along with his *murshid-i-Tarikit* Bulbul Shah. He made no stone unturned in propagation of Islam in Kashmir.[2] In the shrine of Bulbul Shah the graves of Bulbul Shah and Hazrat Allama Mullah Ahmad are shown in Plate 2 (c) Appendix.

Furthermore it is claimed that there are four major *khanqahs* dedicated in the memory of the remarkable Sufi saint Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani.

Shah Hamdan Mosque or Khanqah-i-Mu'alla:

GMD Sufi claims that, Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir constructed the first building of the Khanqah-i-Mu'alla on that very place where Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani used to perform *Chilla* with great retreat and devotion, and which is also called as *Chilla Khana* of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani in Srinagar. Sultan built it in 798 A.H. / 1395 A.C to commemorate the visit of the great Sufi saint Sayyid Ali Hamdani.[3]

Percy Brown explaining the architectural features of the Shah Hamdan Mosque states that it is the only mosque having typical example of the wooden architecture of the Kashmir Valley. It is located on the right bank of the river Jhelum on the irregular masonry foundation composed of Ancient temple materials. "The mosque, exclusive of its *varandah* extensions, is in plan a Square of 70 feet side and two storied in height, which up to its eave is nearly 50 feet. Above is the low pyramidal roof, surmounted by the open pavilion for the *muezzin* over which rises the

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1. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Part. III., (Urdu tr.), *Tazkiray-i-Auliy-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 144
2. Ghulam Nabi Dar, *Ryazul-Abrar*, Part. I, Hazratbal, Srinagar, 2008, p. 29
3. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. I., op. cit., P. 146

steeple with finial, 125 feet from the ground."[1] About the design on the inner walls Percy Brown states, "there are superimposed lighter structures in the form of arcades, Verandahs, and porticos, their openings filled lattice work (*pinjra*) and enriched with carved wooden insertions. The pyramidal roof, projecting over the whole composition, is in three tiers and composed of rafters having planks above covered with turf, and, in their season beds of tulips and iris, the effect of which when in full flower is one of the rare beauty. Under this natural roof garden are fixed multiple layers of birch-bark, which provide water-proof strata impervious to rain or snow."[2]

However the present building of the Shah Hamdan Mosque is not the original architectural one, as it became twice the target of fire, first in 1479 and secondly in 1731. Thus the current structure as seen today (except for the more recent cloisters) was reconstructed by Abdul Barkat Khan in 1732 in the Mughal period.[3] It was reconstructed mostly on the same pattern but later on its roof was also replaced with the tin (iron) sheets. So for the architectural decoration of the Shah Hamdan Mosque is concerned, there is a lot of *paper-machie* work on the walls and ceiling. The main hall is resting on the four wooden pillars. There is a typical Kashmiri dome at the mosque shaped on the pattern of paneled umbrella of the Buddhist Stupas. Thus with the passage of time some alterations had also come.[4]

The main inner hall of the Shah Hamdan Mosque is 63 by 43 and there are 14 other chambers joined to the main hall including a special room called *Khilvat Khana* or *Chilla Khana* of Sayyid Ali Hamdani. This special chamber is decorated with glass inlay work *paper-machie* and wood carvings. The *Aurad-i-Fathia* has been painted in composition in the carved work in the walls. Besides this the 99, Holy Names of the Allah have also been carved of the wooden panels in an artistic manner which is an example of Arabic Calligraphy in Kashmir. So the *mehrab* of the main prayer hall is also superb with calligraphy. There is a technique by which the four columns supporting the ceiling are covered with beautifully pieces of wood joined in fish bone patterns. The dado of the walls of Shah Hamdan *Ziarat* and its pillars were consisted of carved floral patterns viz lotus flowers and leaves. The two important sacred relics

1. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*, Bombay, 1956, p. 81
2. Ibid.
3. *Kashmir under the Mughals 1586-1752*, op. cit., p. 187
4. R.C Agarwal, *Kashmir and its monumental Glory*, New Delhi, 1998, p. 166-168

which had been preserved in the *Kilvat Khana* that is in a special chamber of the *khanqah,* further added its more importance. The two relics are the standard of the Holy Prophet (SAW) of God and the tent pole used in the battle field of Badar (625 A.D.).[1] These relics were brought by Shah Hamadan to Kashmir.[2] Thus the pagoda type spires of the mosque which is a unique feature of the Muslim architecture to the Kashmir. F.M. Hasnian quotes Ferguson's states, "that this crown Spire of the *khanqah* is evidently reminiscence of a Buddhist tree". [3] So there are some architectural features like spire of which had its basis from the Buddhist temples, it highlights composite culture but on the other hand the sacred relics also shown to the public on festive occasions after offerings Friday prayers for which people come from the far-flung areas, villages and also from the local areas and in this way there developed a large market in its surroundings with the result it promoted urbanization which ultimately had its economic impact on the Kashmiri people not only up to the 18th century but even up to this day. (plate 3 a) Appendix.

Another *khanqah* in the same period, Sultan Sikandar constructed, is the *khanqah* at Traal near Avanti pura.[4]

The Khanqah-i-Ala or the Exalted Shrine at Traal:

It was originally built by Mir Muhammad Hamadani. He built it in the memory of his father Shah Hamdan on the place which Mir Muhammad Hamdani purchased from the Sultan Sikandar, and it is claimed that he brought it for three rubles. Thus the name Traal owes its origin from 'tre-la'l' means in Kashmiri. Thus the area was selected for the residence of the Sayyids who migrated from Hamdan or Persia alone or in the company of Shah Hamdan, particularly during the later part of the 14th Century A.D.[5]

However the present Khanqh-i-Mir Sayyid Ali or Khanqah-i-Faiz-Panah at Traal was reconstructed on 16th December 1997 by the government of Jammu & Kashmir and by the co-operation Audara-i-Auqaf Islamia Hamdania Traal. It attracts

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1. *Shah Hamdan of Kashmir,* op. cit., pp. 154-55
   Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, available in the department of History, AMU, Aligarh, p. 488
3. As quoted by Fida Muhammad Khan Hussanian, *Shah Hamdan of Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 156
4. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. I., op. cit., P. 146
5. Ibid., pp. 92-93

thousands of devotees from all over the state and laid its impact on socio-religious, cultural and economic conditions of Kashmir. plate 3 (b) Appendix.

Ziarat-i-Shah Hamdan or Khanqah at Sopore:

It was also one of the major *khanqas* at Sopore which belongs to the Baramulla district was constructed in the 15th Century during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. But the present *khanqah* is not the old one, rather it was rebuilt in 16 *Ziqada* 1405 A.H./ 15th August 1985 A.D., and is also called Khanqah-i-Faiz Panah. The mentioned date of its reconstruction is inscribed on the wooden entrance gate of the *khanqah* at Sopore. It is located on the left side of the river Jhelum. Besides it, wood, stones and bricks has been used for its construction. plate 3 (c) Appendix.

Jami Masjid a historical Mosque at Srinagar:

This grand old Jami Masjid of Srinagar was built by Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir. The work of its construction was started in 1398 A.D. It was Sayyid Mohammad Sad-ur-Din the great engineer from Khurasaan was invited by Sultan Sikandar to Kashmir and the estimate and the plan of the mosque was drafted by him. It was the only mosque having the capacity of 40000 worshippers at a time.[1] plate 4 (a) Appendix.

It has been claimed that the ground where the mosque stands was once sacred to Buddhists especially the Laddakhi Buddhists called it Tsisung Tsublak king. Thus this Mosque even in the late 19th century was named as *Bado Masjid.*[2] On the doorway of this Jami Masjid there are some verses which represent the date of construction in 1398 and completion in 1402 A.D.[3] There are four doors on the four sides and four high minarets rising to the sky and decorated with wonderful sculptures, has passed through many vicissitudes.[4] In the Jami Masjid both stones and

1. Prof. Somnath Wakhlu, *The Rich Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir Studies in Art, Architecture, History and Culture of the Region*, New Delhi, 1998, p. 11
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. *A History of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 583-84

wood are used as architectural material. Thus it is the mixture of Mughal and Kashmiri style of architecture.[1]

It was during the time of Jahangir in A.H. 909 / 1600 A.D., and again 1029 A.H/ 1620 A.D at the time of *Eid-i-Ramzan* the above mentioned mosque burned down when Jahangir himself was in Kashmir. The emperor ordered to the renowned historian Rais-ul-Mulk Haidar of Chadura for the reconstruction of the Mosque who completed its construction within 17 years. It was again destroyed in 1008 A.H/ 1674 A.D during the reign of Aurangzeb and was again restored. Later on during the Pathan rule the Jami Mosque was first renovated by Hajji Karim Dad Khan and then by Sardar Azad Khan in 1190 A.H / 1776-1777 AD and in 1203 A.H. / 1788-1789 AD. However under the Sikh rule in 1820, Diwan Moti Ram issued orders of the complete closure of mosque for about 23 years. However, it was during the time of Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din the governor of the Ranjit Singh, that through the efforts of Sheikh Maqbul Husain, then Revenue Minister, it was reopened and rebuilt by the support of the Zamindars of the Valley and with the co-operation of the Archaeological Department of Government of India.[2] The Mosque was destroyed by fire on number of occasions but was again reconstructed each time.[3]

The Mosque in the centre of the four joined buildings had a central courtyard in which there is a water hose for making ablution purposes and a *baradari* is built. The water hose or water tank is shown in plate 4 (b). The main wall of the mosque had all screened arched windows. However Southern gateway surmounted by a pyramidal pinnacle in wood is the main entrance of the mosque. The wooden pillars in systematic rows and the style of roof are unique in their structure, no where found in other parts of the country, (plate 4 d).[4] There are some pillars under the domes or spire which are more than 40 feet in height but the other pillars under the main building are just above 21 feet high.[5]The main gate is also known as the *Shahi Darwaza*. All the four sides of the courtyard there are great verandah halls, the roof of which is totally based on *chobi* pillars.[6] The main four pillars in front of the *mehrab*

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1. *Kashmir under the Mughals 1586-1752*, op. cit., p. 187
2. *Islamic Culture in Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 214
3. *Kashmir under the Sultans1586-1752,* op. cit., p. 270
4. *Kashmir And its Monumental Glory,* op. cit., p. 168.
5 . *A History of Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 584
6. *Tasweer-i-Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 260

are attractive. (plate 4 e). However in the inner part of the *mehrab* are inscribed the 99 Holy Names of Allah, (plate 4 f). Earlier above the ceiling of the wooden roof but below the earth layer there was the use of *Birch* bark for resistance as a water proof. But its character completely changed in 1653 when the *Birch* bark on wooden planks covered with mud was replaced with tin (iron) sheets.[1]

On the right side of the main entrance at the wall on a black marble there engraved the royal Farman of the emperor Shah Jahan, indicating the removal of all cruel taxes and levies imposed by the Itaqad Khan the Mughal governor, who was replaced by Zafar Khan on the royal orders of the emperor. The engraved Farman is shown on plate 4 (c) Appendix. Finally Maraja Partap Singh reconstructed the mosque in 1913 A.D.[2]

Pathar Masjid:

It was built in 1620 by Nur Jahan the queen of Emperor Jahangir. It is situated on the left bank of the river Jhelum at a small distance opposite to the Shah Hamdan Mosque in Srinagar. The main construction material used in it is the stones and gray lime-stone. The interior of the Mosque is divided into three passages by two massive stone arches. There are nine horizontally constructed arches in the facade.[3]

It is claimed that when somebody asked Nur Jahan about the cost spent on the construction of the Mosque, she hinted at her jeweled slipper "as much as this" keeping in mind the insult of Mosque the *Muftis* and *Qazis* of the time declared the Mosque unfit for prayers. However with the passage of time it was repaired several times first in 1697-1704 by Fazal Khan. In Afghan period particularly in 1754 it was utilized by the Afghan rulers as granary store house. In 1793 Mirza Hizar Khan Afghan governor repaired it. Later on it was Maraja Hari Singh who opened the

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1. *Kashmir And its Monumental Glory*, op. cit., p. 168. The beauty of the courtyard of the mosque is with its hauz' (tank) on all the four sides of which the prayer worshippers make their ablution. This hauz or water tank is about 34 feet long as well as of the same width.
2. Manohar Koul, *Kashmir, Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim Architecture*, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 133-34.
3. *A History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 586

Mosque for offering prayers in 1931 which had remained closed for centuries.[1] (plate 5).

Hazratbal Mosque:

Actually this mosque is located at a distance of 4 Kilometers from the city of Srinagar and is situated on the western bank of Dal Lake. Its importance goes up that it houses the sacred hair of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.).[2] It was during the Aurangzeb's reign in Kashmir that particularly in 1699 A.D. i.e., an important historical event occurred i.e., the arrival of *Mu-i-Mubbarak* (sacred hair) of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) in Srinagar. The holy relic was brought by a rich Kashmiri merchant named Khwaja Nur-ud-Din Ishbari from Bijapur.[3] It is claimed that a gentle man Sayyid Abdullah named brought *Mu-i-Mukaddas* (sacred hair) of the Prophet (SAW) from Arabia to Hindustan during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan. The emperor tried to investigate the reality of the *Mu-i-Mukaddas*. And after investigation the *Ulama* declared it as the rare hair of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). With the result the emperor Shah Jahan rewarded Sayyid Abdullah with great honour, and it remained under the supervision of Sayyid up to the Shah Jahan's reign. But it was during the time of Aurangzeb *Mu-i-Mukaddas* was brought to Kashmir along with a Kashmiri merchant Khwaja Nur-ud-Din Ishai.[4]

The shrine is in single domed facade with its accompanying minaret.[5] Thus the dome was adopted very late in Kashmir; the dome at Hazratbal is the only example of Islamic dome which has its proto type in the holy city of Medina.[6] The Hazratbal shrine was originally owes its *baradari* built by Sadiq Khan in 1043 A.H/ 1633 A.D was once, amongst one of the famous noble lords of Emperor Jahangir. The structure of a *baradari* was originally built as a royal guest house for resting purposes. But it was Shah Jahan who while staying in it, experienced spiritual condition and changed his mind, and asked Sadiq Khan that this place is not suitable for rest house for pleasure (*Ishrat Kada*) but it should be dedicated to spiritual exercises and prayers.

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1. *Kashmir Heritage Tourism*, op. cit., p. 128
2. *Encyclopedia of Kashmir, Kashmir Art, Architecture and Tourism*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 325
3. *Prospectives on Kashmir Historical Dimensions*, op. cit., p. 46
4. *Tasweer-i-Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 292-93
5. Dr. Pirzada Mohammad Amin, *Hazratbal Shrine in Historical Perspective*, New Delhi, 2001, p. 5
6. *Saqi's Kashmir: Its History and traditions*, op. cit., p. 26

Later on Mughal Governor Fazal repaired it and constructed the area for placing the sacred hair of the Prophet (PBUH).[1] However the structure of the roof was three storied with five roofs, seven windows in each story to the all sides. The roofs were wooden projections. Generally the second roof varies in size than the first, in front of hospice14 windows designed like pulpit. The walls were in brick missionary resting on a plinth of dresses stone the latticed work was also done on the wall carving. More over there was the use of net *jali* work by fitting the small pieces of wood fitted together for geometrical patterns. Dr. Pirzada Mohammad Amin mentions that, "In between the fourth and fifth roofs the space was covered with net. A chief feature of the old structure of the shrine was that its exterior and interior walls were designed with such masonry that each wall looked like a flower terrace. In between those designed flowerbeds, small pieces of mirrors were fitted skillfully. Its other distinguishable feature was that during the chilly cold it would remain comparatively warmer and in the summer it would be pleasant to meditate inside."[2] For the first time its expansion started in 1208 A.H/ 1793 C.E by Ahsanullah Khan the Nawab of Dhaka, he constructed a *hamam* to the mosque for the comfort of the pilgrims, so that warm water could be facilitated in the winter season of cold.[3] About the *hamam*, Lawrence is of the opinion that the *hamam* at Hazratbal was necessary and essential, but it was not constructed by the efforts of local populace but took place by the charity of a Nawab of Dhaka (Bangladesh).[4] The old Hazratbal shrine is shown in plate 6 (a).

In 1389 A.H / 1969 C. E., the old shrine was replaced and construction of the shrine newly started under the orders and personal care of the chief custodian of the shrine, the ex-prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, late Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. The new constructed shrine of white marble was completed in 1399 A.H / 1979 C.E. it took 10 years to complete, and it cost an amount of 15 million rupees expenditure. At last it was on June 23, 1978 Maulvi Abdul Rahim Bandy, a senior *Nishan Dez* carried the *Mu-i-Mubbarak* on his head and placed it in the inner sanctum

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1. *Hazratbal Shrine in Historical Perspective*, op. cit., p. 48
2. Ibid., pp. 49-50
3. Mirza Saif-ud-Din, *Khulasatul-Tawarikh*, (Urdu tr.) Mirza Kamal-ud-Din, Gowkadal Srinagar, 1984, p. 308
4. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 290

of the newly constructed shrine.[1] However the newly constructed mosque in the east facing the Dal Lake is double storied where as on the west it is single story. The marble is designed to the windows and verandah frames. The mosque had an open courtyard both in the eastern and western directions. Inside the dome work there is the use of excellent art and the ceiling is based on the costly Kashmiri *Khatam-Band* technique. The newly constructed Hazratbal shrine in white marble is shown in plate 6 (b). The *Mu-i-Mukaddas* is shown in one of the gatherings by a *Pir,* in-charge of the Ziarat at Dargah Hazratbal is displayed in plate 6 (c).

It is also remarkable that even today the devotees are seen touching their body, hands, and even dress of the custodian exhibiting the relic with the purpose of receiving a *baarkat.* It is also obvious that there is a system of *Pir-i-muridi* which represents the dargah life in the past. Thus it is clear that the Dargah of Hazratbal play an important role in making an opportunity for those people who live in the rural areas to come out of their closed social environment and join with their fellow Muslims of different areas. However when it is looked from the economic point of view, it offered opportunities for purchasing and selling of special kinds of commodities on the six fairs and in the Friday prayer congregations many business men get good surplus around the shrine in a small market.[2] It is the only shrine in Kashmir or even in India where there is no tomb or grave of any reputed saint but only due to the presence of *Mu-i-Mubbarak* it is treated as sacred and known as *Dargah* which generally means shrine of reputed saint.

Mullah Akhwand Shah Mosque:

It was built by Dara Shukoh in 1649 for his religious preceptor, the great Sufi Mullah Shah Badakshi.[3] It is located in the scarp of the Hari Parbat Fort near the shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi, though it is small in size but it has great significance as Mughal architecture in Kashmir. In short it may be correct to say a mosque with in a mosque.[4] On its east side is the main entrance gate way and the entire mosque is singular in plan. Arcades are there on the north and south of the

1. *Hazratbal Shrine in Historical Perspective*, op. cit., p. 52
2. *Muslim Shrines in India, their Character, History, and Significance*, (ed.), Christian W. Troll, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 179-181
3. *Kashmir under the Mughals 1586-1752*, op. cit., p. 186
4. *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*, op. cit., p. 83

building as wings of the prayer chamber similarly treated.[1] Percy Brown mentions that, "here the plan resolves itself into relatively large rectangular enclosure containing a tank in the courtyard of the mosque for making ablution purpose and bounded by a range of compartments for the attendants and devotees. At the western end of this enclosure is the mosque sanctuary isolated from its surroundings and consisting of a square building around a square open court, the front portion forming the entrance, the sides the aisles, and the western end the prayer hall. Constructed of grey granite slabs over a core of brickwork, the proportions of this building, the simplicity of its surface treatment, its architectural character and manipulation generally, are all most commendable."[2] But now this monument is in ruined condition under the supervision of Department of Archaeology, (plate 7 a). On the eastern of the mosque there are few small chambers, used by the inmates and were also used as a *madrasa* where the devotees learned knowledge and receive education and learn about Islam. (plate 7 b).

Pari Mahal:

Pari Mahal was built in 1650 A.D by the eldest son of Shah Jahan, Dara Shukoh[3] for his Sufi teacher Akhwand Mullah Muhammad Shah Badakhshi. But it is now in ruined condition. GMD Sufi also rejects the statement as some people wrongly call it as astrology but he is of the firm opinion that it was a residential School of Sufism. He further also named it as 'Qutilun' on a spur of the Zebanwan mountain is a symbol or memorial of the Mughal love for letters.[4] This Pari Mahal or Fairy Palace had no example which adds more beauty to the view of the Dal Lake.[5]

The above mentioned building had six terraces and there are arched walls. The main entrance is from the northwest side and has a domed arch way. Moreover with the main building there are attached the chambers of kitchen and a *hamam.* It is claimed that the princes used to sit in the upper stories. And the kitchen and the *hamam* represents that the Sufis or the inmates were supplied food from *langar,* (plate

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1. *A History of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 587
2. *Indian Architecture (Islamic period),* op. cit., p. 83
3. *The Glorious Heritage*, (ed.), K. L. Kalla, *Lall Rookh*, Srinagar, 2007, p. 38
4. *Islamic Culture in Kashmir,* op. cit, p. 214; see also *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 22
5. *The Valley of Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 22

8). But the Mullah Shah Badakshani's tomb is at Mulshahi Bagh, situated near the entrance of the Sind valley.[1]

Shaikh Noor-ud-din Noorani and his Ziarat at Charar-i-Sharif:

After Bulbul Shah some 50 years later on, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani came to Kashmir. Whereas during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani's son Mir Muhammad Hamdani came to Kashmir, another great Muslim Rishi, Shaikh Noor-ud-din arrived on the scene who founded the Rishi silsila in Kashmir.[2] The Shaikh was born on the day of Id-ul-Azha, in 779 A.H/ 1377 A.C., in the village of Kaimuh two miles from Bijbihara and at a distance of 28 miles from South East of Srinagar.[3] The photograph of the above mentioned first Muslim Rishi of Kashmir is shown in plate 9 (a). Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin always remained sympathetic to the Shaikh Noor-ud-din Rishi.[4]

The tomb of Shaikh Noor-ud-din at Charar-i-Sharif had become place of attraction to the devotees as pilgrimage. On both the birth and death anniversaries of the Rishi, *Urs* and fairs are held. Thus thousands of people come to the shrine with *niaz* and offerings to get their aims, vows fulfilled and with religious sentiments. On some festive occasions like *Urs* etc the rare relics of the Shaikh Noor-ud-din viz his cloak, clogs and staff, are displayed to the devotees.[5] So for the architectural features of the shrine are concerned, it is built in the traditional *pagota* style, the shrine was known for its excellent wood work as *Khatam-Band* or mosaic of beautiful geometric patterns joined together to create an aesthetic effect. In the May 1995 in a gun battle between the Indian army and a Pakistani gunman named Mast Gul, the shrine got burned into ashes. But later on it was rebuilt in its original architecture.[6] The newly constructed shrine is shown in plate 9 (b).

Khanqah of Baba Zain-ud-Din at Bandarkoot Kishtwar:

The shrine is located at the bank of river Chinab in the foot hill there is a small cave existing where Zain-ud-Din (R.A) used to worship (*Ibadat*) continuously for 12

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1. Ibid.
2. Rashid Nazki, *Rashiayat*, (ed.), Mohammad Yusuf Taing Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1992, p. 221
3. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. I., op. cit., p. 98
4. *Rashiayat*, op. cit., p. 221
5. *Cultural Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir*, (ed.), K. Wrikoo, New Delhi, 2009, p. 116
6. Ibid., p. 159

years. But there is no grave of any saint in the shrine. Zain-ud-Din born in a Hindu family having Zia Singh as his name, he was the son of Raja of Bandarkoot in Kishtwar. In his young age he became orphan. He received the religious training from Shaikh Noor-ud-din Wali and was his II disciple. Baba Zain-ud-Din passed away from this world in 850 A.H / 1446-1447 A.D., and is buried at Aish-Maqam some 20 kilometers from Pahalgam. However on the uphill side of the cave at Bandarkoot there are remains of the old fort which indicated the palaces and residing building traces of Rajas of Bandarkoot.[1] (plate 10).

Zairat of Baba Sakhi Zain-ud-Din Wali Rishi at Aish-Maqam:

Zain-ud-Din was one of the great disciples of Shaikh Noor-ud-Din Wali. The later had a great respect and proud for his disciple Zain-ud-Din.[2] He was contemporary to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. However Abu'l-Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari* writes about Zain-ud-Din that, "in the village of Aish is the cell of *Baba* Zain-ud-Din Rishi. It is in the side of a hill. It is said that in ancient times the hill held no water, but when he took up his abode there, a spring began to flow. For twelve years he occupied this cell and a length closed its mouth with a large stone and never went forth again, and none has ever found trace of him."[3] Lawrence is of the opinion that, "this shrine is much respected by the boatmen of Kashmir, who take their children and cut off their first locks of hair. If this was done elsewhere the child would die or become blind."[4] The shrine is shown in plate 10 (b). His grave is inside the cave where he used to perform *chilla* or worship. (plate 10 c).

Tomb of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi:

Shams-ud-Din Iraqi was born in the village Kun in the adjoining areas of Suligan that was in those days a part of Iraq. He was the son of Darwish Ibrahim.[5] He came to Kashmir for the first time as an ambassador sent by Sultan Hussain Mirza

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1 . Auqaf Islamia Kishtwar (J&K), *Ocean of Spirituality*, Kishtwar, 2010, pp. 2-3
2. Abdu'l-Wahhab Nuri, *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya,* completed in 1162/ 1748-49, Ms. O.R.D., No. 50 (Khan, Ms. O.R.D.), f. 95a
3. *The Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. II, (English Tr.), op. cit., p. 360
4. *The Valley of Kashmir,* op. cit., p. 288
5. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (*Tarikh-i-Kashmir)*, (ed.), Dr. Akbar Haidari Kashmiri Srinagar, 1982, p. 31.

Wali of Khurasan in 882 A.H. / 1477 A.D. He built a *khanqah* and an *Ibadat khanna* in the foot hills of the Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar, where he used to perform *chilla* and other Sufi practices. In Kashmir in those days there was much fame of Mullah Ismail. Shams Iraqi tried to get the confidence of the followers of the Mullah Ismail and he himself left Kashmir in 890 A.H/ 1485 A.D., after spending eight years there and then returned to Khurasan. In Khurasan he used to live in the company of Shah Qasim Faiz Baksh and similarly he too speedily involved in spreading the mission of Nur-Bakshiyyah movement. He, after 12 years again in 902 A.H. / 1487 arrived Kashmir with the purpose to spread Islam in Kashmir.[1] He is the first *Shia* Sufi who spread *Shia* faith among the Kashmiris. He is buried in the Chadura Tehsil, of district Budgam. His shrine is shown in the plate (11 a). However, his tomb is now under construction, so that it may be enlarged. The under construction tomb of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi is shown in the plate 11(b).

Tomb of Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani:

He was from Kiraman. It is believed that one of the rulers of Kashmir named Bani Umam went to Hindustan, where he heard about Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani, and met the Sayyid and told his problem. However the Sayyid gave him good news of ruling, but also warned him that after getting the power he must stress upon Islamic way of ruling, according to the *Shariah*. When he became king, he invited the Sayyid to Kashmir but the Sultan refused to keep his promise, with the result Sayyid Ahmad annoyed and the Sultan died because of his curse.[2] Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani was one of the Suhrawardi Sufis of the 16th Century who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Nazuk Shah 1529-30 to 1540-52 A.D. Nazuk Shah become his *murid*. A *khanqah* along with a *langar* was built for him at Narwara (Malkha) in Srinagar. However its expenditure was granted from the royal treasury. He was succeeded by one of his disciples named Baba Masud also called Narwra Sahab.[3] (plate 12).

Ziarat of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi:

Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi was born in 900 A.H / 1494 A.C. at Tijir village in the Baramulla district of Kashmir. He was the son of Baba Usman. He has been

1. Ibid., pp. 38-39
2. *Ryazul-Abrar*, Part. I, op. cit., p. 47
3. *Cultural Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 116

shown in plate (13 a). He was a great Kashmiri Sufi and had a Sunni faith. He by his preaching and teaching made a confidential check on Shiaism spread by the Shams-ud-Din Iraqi in Kashmir. He after receiving the primary education at his home village went to Khwaja Ismail Kubravi's college known as Dar-ush-Shifa at the foot hills of the Hari Parbat (Koh-i-Maran) where he studied *Qur'an Hadith, Fiqh* and knowledge of Sufism and other sciences.[1]

Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi passed away from this world in 1576 A.C. and is buried in the place where he used to worship on the slope of Koh-i-Maran during the reign of Ali Shah Chak. Later on, it was Nawwab Inayatullah Khan who was the Mughal Subadar built the tomb of the Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi in 1125 A.H/ 1713 A.C. During the Sikh rule the Governor Ghulam Muhyid Din rebuilt it.[2] The shrine is also called as Makhdum Sahib Shrine. In the mausoleum besides the grave of Shaikh Hamza the other grave is of the Baba Dawud Khaki who was one of the distinguished disciples of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi. It is double story building with multi pillared structure, displays a remarkable architectural style and is considered one of the sacred shrines of Kashmir. The shrine is visited by a number of people belonging to various faiths throughout the whole year. (plate 13 b).

Ziarat of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (R.A):

He was born in 928 A.H/ 1521 AD and was the son of Kamalud-Din Shaikh Hasan who was besides an employ in the royal service was a great man and a jagirdar.[3] Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi was a great scholar, Sufi and a poet and the first Chishti saint of the Valley. For the purpose of receiving knowledge he travelled many countries and where he met many pious men. He learned the knowledge of Sufism, *Qur'an* and *Hadith.* About Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (R.A) details had already been given in my Chapters three and fourth. He passed away from this world on 12th Ziqada, 1003 A.H / 1594 A.C. and was buried in Mohalla Zaina Kadal of Srinagar, A large number of people used to visit to the shrine particularly on the festive and *Urs* occasions and get blessings from *ziarat*. (plate 14) Appendix.

Shrine of Dastigeer Sahib:

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1. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. I., op. cit., p. 112
2. Ibid., p. 113
3. *Jami-al-Kamalat Hazrat Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi-Shaksiat-o-fun,* op. cit., p. 19

The shrine is located at Khanyar locality of Srinagar which is just at a distance of 1.5 Kilometers from Rainawari or two kilometers from Dalgate. There is preserved a relic (sacred hair) of the *Pir-i-Dastigeer* i.e., Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani.[1] Lawrence says that that Dastigeer never visited Kashmir but the hair is even today cast no shadow and hangs in the air, is seen in the *ziarat*. people regard the saint of Khorasan, but the influence so much that the boatmen even are still while paddle up stream, his name evoked as 'Ya Pir Dastgir'.[2] There is no any grave inside the mosque but only the relic is there. However, it was during the Afghan rule of, Noor-ud-Din Khan Bamzai a *khanqah* was built by Khwaja Sakhi Shah Sahib who came to Kashmir from Baghdad and preached Qadiri Sufi teachings in Kashmir. During the Maraja Ranbir Singh's time it was repaired by a rich shawl merchant Sanaullah. There is graceful white and green exterior hides a glorious *paper-machie* interior full of scroll work, Arabic script and floral motifs, supported by *paper-machie* palms. The shrine is shown in (plate 15) Appendix.

Tomb of Baba Abdullah Guzriali:

He was born in the village Lariyar in the *pargana* Owelar. In his early age he met Hazrat Baba Nasb-ud-Din and got religious and spiritual knowledge from Haja Baba a distinguished *khalifa* of Hazrat Baba Nasib-ud-Din. He was pious, *Darwish* and an ascetic person. He went to the far-flung rural areas with the purpose to spread Islam. He built many Masajid, bridges and bathrooms at various places, viz, at Khumrial he built a mosque and hermit to the spring and lived for some time there. He also built a *masafar-khana* at the mountain of the Zuja-bale. Lastly he lived at village Guzrial in the Uttarmachi tehsil of district Baramulla (now district Kupwara). Finally in 1107 A.H/ 1695-1696 A.D he passed away from this world and is buried in the Guzrial village.[3] His *Ziarat* is a place of attraction to thousands of people from the every nock and corner of the state. (plate 16) Appendix.

Shrine of Zati Shah or Shahwali Mukam Drugmulla:

Zati Shah Chak was a famous Darwish and was the disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi, therefore, belonged to the Suhrawardiyyah order. In 984 A.H/ 1576 A.C.

1. *Cultural Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 160
2. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 292-93
3. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu tr.), Dr. Shams-ud -Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 341

during the reign of Sultan Ali Shah there was a great famine in Kashmir which lasted for three years. When the ruling Sultan inquired the Darvish that how long the famine was to last, Zati Shah replied openly, “that the cessation of famine would synchronize with his death.” It resulted, the truth, the king died while plying polo at Idgah as the pommel of his saddle entered his stomach.[1] About Shahwali or Zati Shah, Lawrence writes, that “Shahwali was a madman from Bukhara, and being mad he had no *murid* or followers. So, he gave himself up to tree-planting, and having the miraculous power of animating dead things with life, he found little difficulty in arboriculture. Even the fish in the little pool by the shrine were brought dead to Andrhama, but Shahwali restored them to life.” [2] The shrine is at a distance of three kilometers from the main Kupwara town. Hajji Abdul Gani Baig claims that he (Shahwali) was military commandant of Sultan Ali Shah Chak and was disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi. He further mentions that a dried fish put into the water in the spring at Drugmulla in front of his *dargah* he turned alive and hence even presently the fishes in the spring are seen with irregular and strange body and look like dry fish. His relics are displayed to the public on the *urs* and other *mela* ceremonies.[3] His shrine is shown in plate 17 (a) in the mausoleum of Zati Shah there is one more grave which is of his brother Masud Chak.[4] The grave of his brother Masud Chak is shown in the plate 17 (b).

Shrine of Shah Muhammad Farid-ud-Din Baghdadi Qadiri:

Born in 1551 in Baghdad he arrived in Sind from where he went to Agra and then to Delhi and during the closing years of Shah Jahan’s reign. Kishtwar in 1674 was ruled by Raja Jay Singh, and Farid-ud-Din reached the Valley of Kishtwar in 1075 A.H. / 1664-1665 A.D at the age of 75.[5] It is claimed that the Raja Jay Singh the Rajput Raja of Kishtwar got converted into Islam by the influence of the miracles

1. *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. I., op. cit., pp. 226-27
2. *The Valley of Kashmir*, op. cit, pp. 288-89. But here the Lawrence statement on one side that, he was madman on the other side he says that he had miraculous powers is not meeting the same, therefore, it is clear that he was not a mad but he was a Darwish as GMD. Sufi also mentions in his writing. His Shrine is visited by people of different faith from various places and offer *niaz* to the ziarat.; see also, *Kashir Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. I., op. cit., pp. 226-27
3. Abdul Gani Baigh, *Kupwara the Crown of Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2004, p. 41
4. *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 20
5. Mohammad Saleem Khan, *The History of Medieval Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2006, pp. 30-31

power of the Shah Farid-ud-Din Qadiri.[1] Shah Farid-ud-Din Qadiri was accompanied by four other companions named Darwish Muhammad, Shah Abdal, Sayyid Baha-ud-Din Samani, and Yar Muhammad. Later on in 1681 Kirat Singh who was the successor of Jay Singh also accepted Islam and in 1687 Aurangzeb gave him the Muslim name Sa'adat Yar Khan. However the chief temple of Kishtwar in the heart of the town was changed into mosque which later becomes the tomb of Shah Farid-ud-Din along with his youngest child Anwar-ud-Din, who died in his childhood, and in the II chamber lays the grave of Akhyar-ud-Din.[2] The great Qadiri Sufi Shah Farid-ud-Din is shown in plate 18 (a). His shrine is shown in plate 18 (b).

Ziarat of Panj-Pir in Rajouri:

Panj-Pir Ziarat remained away from the written records of the historians although many people now tried to find out something about the ziarat. In this context Zohra Khatoon in her work '*Muslim Saints and their Shrines'* through an interwove to a devotee named Zatune Begum 45 years old lady, claims that some two and half or three hundred years before these five brothers or *pirs* came to this place. Talking about the miraculous power of the *Pir,* she further says, that in the time of Maraja Gulab Singh once he was in sleeping and the direction of his feet were towards ziarat, the *pir* appeared him in the dream and told to Maraja that an excavation should be made at the place where today ziarat exists, that you will found there five *nagaras* and one walking stick. In the morning Maraja summed the *Jotshis*, *Yogis* and *Faqirs* and told them whole about his dream, who also suggested the Raja for the excavation. In this way, after an excavation there he found five *nagaras*, a walking stick, *Hukka,* and a cap according to him it was a great miracle.[3] However the shrine was uncared till the last decade1980-1990, but recently a roof and few other facilities had also provided for devotees who come from far flung areas to visit the shrine. The shrine is located at Rajouri on the National high way to Jammu.[4] The annual *urs* is celebrated every year on the last Thursday of the July. Various people of different faith visit the shrine and the devotees pay great homage to the *Pir* by lightning lamps distributing

1. Sir, T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam, London,* 1923, p. 292
2. *The History of Medieval Kashmir,* op. cit., pp. 30-31
3. Zohra Khatoon, *Muslim Saints and their Shrines*, Jammu, 1990, pp. 87-88
4. Shive Chander Sharma Journalist, *Antiquities, History Culture and Shrines of Jammu*, Jammu Tawi, 1997, p. 128

cooked rice, even the drums, were beaten.[1] I also personally visited the shrine and tried to find out the truth. I asked to one of the attendants of the shrine of Panj-Pir, named Mirza Muhammad Sayyid *Sahab* about 50 years old, who informed that this shrine is about three hundred years old, and existed since 17-18th century A.D but there is no written record available. Although he also stated that 35 years back some tourists from Pakistan came and told that these were five brothers and one sister, who originally belonged to Atal bridge of Pakistan where from they came to Rajouri. However, with the permission of the attendants of the shrine I entered the shrine and I found six graves, it come to my notice that sixth grave was of their sister which was little smaller in size than the other five graves who is also buried there inside the other five graves. The shrine is shown in plate 19 (a). The six graves are shown in plate19 (b). It is pilgrimage place for devotees, people of different faith come to the shrine and even the drivers stop their vehicles and put some cash as a *niaz* to the ziarat.

Dargah of Hazrat Baba Ghulam Shah Badshah at Shahhadra Sharief:

Pir Gulam Shah was born in a village named Sayidan Kasraban (Kasranu) in the Rawalpindi district presently in the Pakistan.[2] There is an inscription in Persian on the upper side of the main gate of the mausoleum of Baba Gulam Shah which high lights his arrival in Shahhadra in 1180 AH / 1766-1767 AD, and the date of his death 10th of *Muharam* 1226 A.H / 1811-1812 AD, and is written that he, himself had constructed the tomb in 1224 A.H. / 1809-1810 AD as in Persian in the following way:

Tarikh Aamad Baba Ghulam Bad-Shah (R.A) 1180 A.H.

Tayari Muqbara Bafarmud khud muamar az-dast Multani bar awal 1226 A.H.

Tarikh-i-wafat 10th Muharam 1226 A.H.

The word Shahhadra in local language drives from *Siana*, means lion and dra, means habitat, so in nutshell, it was the residing place of the lions.[3] The shrine is

1. *Muslim Saints and their Shrines*, op. cit., p. 39
2. J. N. Ganhar, *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, New Dehi, nd., p. 124
3. Ghulam Mohammad Dar Assistant collector Defense Rajouri, *Hazrat Baba Ghulam Shah Badshah (R.A)*, New Delhi, nd., p. 12

shown in plate 20 (a). There is a distance of about 20 kilometers from main town of Rajouri up to Thana Mandi and where from Thana Mandi it took a distance of about 3 miles to reach Shahhadra Shrief, where the shrine is located below the Dera Gali pass.[1] In the very early age he showed many miracles. He received religious guidance from his religious preceptor Imam Wali Latif sahib who belonged to a Nur Por village of Rawalpindi district of modern Pakistan. However, his *murshid* declared him that from *Roza-i-mubarak* of Hazat Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani of Baghdad it is the order for you to go to the Shahhadra, and cut the forest and issue a *Langar* there. In those days Karmullah Khan was a small Raja of Rajouri under the subordination of the Ranjit Singh of Lahore.[2] Thus the *Pir* started cutting the forest through his disciples, this news reached to Karmullah Khan, who summed the *Pir* and told him that do not cut the forest, which is a great loss, but the Darwish told him that, he thinks, it is necessary because it is the order of the my *murshid* and do whatever you can do with the result, he wrote to the Ranjit Singh about the matter who allowed him and ordered that, leave the Darwish. [3]

J. N Ganhar writes that, "there is a tradition that Gulab Singh halted here for some time while he was in pursuit of Agar Khan, Raja of Rajouri, who had revolted against Mahraja Ranjit Singh. Gulab Singh was not a Raja then, he was only a company commander but the local priest foretold that he would one day become the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. According to another version, the Pir Sahib himself appeared to Gulab Singh in a dream and told him so. The prophecy came true and assigned large tracts of land as Jagir to the shrine."[4] Therefore thousands of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs besides the Muslims come to the shrine with their desires so that they may full fill their vows and aims. The devotees who visit the shrine get free food in the *langar* and there are also facilities of guest-houses, besides it, there is a general hall which is also available for the night stay of the devotees who come from far flung areas. However, the shrine is under construction for the expansion which is shown in plate 20 (b).

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1. *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, op. cit., p. 124.
2. *Hazrat Baba Ghulam Shah Badshah (R.A)*, op. cit., p. 14
3. Ibid., pp. 16-17
4. *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, op. cit., pp. 125-26

CONCLUSION

The Valley of Kashmir Paradise has always been an attraction not only for the rulers but for the Sufis, merchants', academicians, artisans and other sections of the society since time is mentioned. A study on the Kashmiri society its people and economy looks very interesting and the role played by the Darwishes, Sufis and Walis in special. Their impact on the socio-economic trends of Kashmir has been well assessed in the present study on the basis of contemporary and modern reliable sources.

In the first chapter of the study we come to the conclusion that the geo-political conditions of Jammu & Kashmir favoured the Sufis-saints and Pirs for their mission, and it was through them that Islam was introduced in that region. As from the geographical point of view Kashmir was such a spot whose boundaries touched to various such countries where Sufism was swiftly flourishing in the 14^{th} century. Thus it became easy for the Sufis to enter Kashmir from the adjoining routes and passes. Before the penetration of Islam in Kashmir which undoubtedly was the home of Buddhism and Hinduism. But during the last days of the Hindu Rajas and Chieftains rule i.e. in the first half of the 14^{th} century, the political and social conditions led the common masses in trouble and miserable position. In this way it paved the way for the establishment and propagation of Islam in Kashmir. Besides it, we also found that it was the Sufi saint's simplicity, Sufistic thought, piousness and miraculous powers and spiritual practices, which attracted people to embraced Islam. However, with the passage of time, the 16^{th} century was the most significant period from the political point of view. Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi arrived in the closing years of the 15^{th} century and by the beginning of the 16^{th} century got Chak rulers converted into the Shia faith. Again it was the Sufi movement who raised their voice against the exploitation of the Sunni *mashaikh,* Sufis, Ulama and Darwishes at the hands of some of the Chak rulers. With the result some of the prominent Kashmiri Sufis viz, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Baba Dawud Khaki with the blessings of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum invited the Mughal Emperor Akbar who conquered and annexed Kashmir in 1586. However, it was under the Mughal rule that the Sufis saints, Pirs and Rishis again were held in high esteem, both in the society and in the eyes of ruling elite.

In the second chapter an attempt has been made to prove it in the light of various verses of the *Holy Qur'an* and *Hadith* that *Tasawwuf* has its origin in Islam, as Sufis have always considered Prophet of Islam, *Ahle-bait* and the companions of the Prophet (SAW) i.e., *Sahabas* as the role models for their spiritual quest activities of lives.

The various Sufi orders viz, the Kubravi, Suhrawardi, Naqashbandi, Qadiri, Nur Bakshi and Rishi penetrated in the Kashmir Valley. Simultaneously the role of Rishi order can't be underestimated as they made the task of Sufis further easy for the propagation of their fold as well. However, a few Sufis and Sayyids (particularly Baihaqi Sayyids) in the Sultanate period enjoyed positions in the state politics. In Kashmir too Sufis contribution in comparison to Ulama is more significant with regard to socio-cultural conditions of the people.

In order to analyze the role of Sufi orders in the third chapter we notice that with the penetration of Sufis in Kashmir in the 14th century, a wind of change in almost every sphere of life such as regarding faith, culture and social conditions took place. The first Sufi who entered Kashmir from the Turkistan was Sayyid Abdur Rahman Bulbul Shah, who converted the Buddhist ruler Rinchan Shah to Islam, and gave him the Muslim name Sadru-ud-Din, who become the first Muslim Sultan of Kashmir. It should also be noted that, propagation of Islam in Kashmir as in other parts of country too was, through the peaceful way.

In the fourth chapter details have been supplied about the penetration and establishment of many Sufi orders viz, Qadiri, Nur-Bakshi, Rishi, Suhrawardi, Naqashbandi, Chishti and Qubravi through their giant popular Shaikhs. The different conditions of these orders, has also been examined. The condition of the Nur Bakshi order was not so good after the decline of Chak rule, and after the annexation of Kashmir by the Mughals in 1586, the Emperor Jahangir had also shown sympathy towards the Shias of Kashmir when riots took place between the Shias and Sunnis in his reign. However, there were Nur Bakshi Shias even in the 17th and 18th century, but they were not so much privileged by political backup. The Qadiri order remained very active and was on its peak during the reign of Shah Jahan under Mullah Shah Badakshi who was the most prominent Qadiri Sufi of Kashmir. However, about the

Rishis of Kashmir both Abu'l-Fazl and Jahangir had mentioned in their works, that a large number of Rishis, about [2000 Muslim Rishis] lived in the Mughal Subah of Kashmir, but during 18th century we found that though the Rishis were there but they were not systematically organized hence could not compete with the other Sufi orders of the period, and even some of Rishis joined other Sufi fraternity like Suhrawardi etc. The Suhrawardi order was the first one which penetrated in Kashmir, and flourished there till 16th century, but after the death of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum the Suhrawardi order could not remain so active. Some of them also enlisted in the other flourishing Sufi orders. On the other hand it was in the closing of the 16th century during the Akbar's reign that, Naqashbandi order was introduced in Kashmir by the Khwaja Baba Wali of Khawarism in 1590-91 A.D. Besides the Qadiri order, Naqashbandi order was also in a good position even in the 18th century, surprising there were women saints in the order who played a key role in the maintenance of *khanqah* system in Kashmir. It is noteworthy that, the Naqashbandi Sufis of Kashmir were well connected with the Sufis of other Islamic countries of that period. They travelled for the purpose of learning knowledge, and in this way education and spiritual knowledge of Islam was popularized in Kashmir by the Naqashbandi Sufis. It is noteworthy that even in the spiritual practices the Naqashbandi Sufis of Kashmir included and enjoyed *Sama.*

It is found that, in the 16th - 18th century there were few Chishti Sufis in Kashmir, who were well connected with the other Chishti Sufis of the Indian subcontinent. Thus it is obvious from the miraculous power, spiritual strength, moral character and quest for knowledge with service to the humanity by these Chishti saints which attracted people of Kashmir to their fold and even after their death their *Ziaratghahs* at various spots of the Valley became centers of the pilgrimage. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi especially in Kashmir largely influenced Kashmiri lives. It was of people due to their (Chishti Sufis) understanding of the conditions of the region, religious tolerance with the conditions and aspirations of the people of Kashmir. They also laid much influence on the education system and literature of Kashmir, as many of the Chishti Sufis were affiliated with the teaching profession in the Valley. So the education system improved both in the field of Islamic knowledge, i.e. learning of *Qur'an, Hadith* & *fiqah,* and other religious sciences and Sufistic studies. It is claimed

that the library founded by Sarfi in Srinagar contained some 15000 books brought by him from the various countries of the world. In the religious and social matters *Sama* the practice of the Chishti Sufis also came into practice and became popular along with the loud voice *Dorood-o-Izkar* (*Zikir*) *mehfils,* which still is prevalent in Kashmir. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi's poetry also played a positive role both for *Tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism) and Kashmiri literary activities. It is strange that, the Chishti order had less contribution in socio-cultural activities of Kashmir in comparison to Qadiri order yet the majorities of the people still serve and had great faith in Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti as great *Wali-Allah*, and regularly visits his shrine at Ajmer in large number, especially in winter season.

Though the Kubravi order was the next order of Sufis, which penetrated after the Suhrawardi order, but in the period under review particularly at the end of the 16th century, the Kubravi order got setback. No doubt the order flourished till 18th century, and Sufis of Qubravi order were found in Kashmir, but they were not much more active in propagation of their order.

The fifth chapter of the present study, it has been noticed in the beginning of the Sultanate period, with the arrival of Sufis into Kashmir, the people not only converted into Islam, but they also welcomed and adopted the new culture, brought by the Sayyids, Sufi saints from the Persia, Turkistan and Central Asia. In this process the Sufism had influenced the society and culture of Kashmir, during the period of the late Shahmiri Sultans, Chaks, Mughals and early Afghans reign. The Sufis had impact almost on every aspect of society while with regard to daily life of Kashmiris, dress and diet as compared to the concern period of study. Later on, in the 16th- 18th centuries there impact is visible on the education system, socio-cultural life, on the conditions of women. With regard to the poetry, music *(Sufiana kalam)*, it is also found that musical instruments were also well utilized in Kashmir, which had their basis at Persia and Turkistan. The history of famous Kashmiri *wazwan* regarded by the Kashmiris as a core element of their cultural identity can be traced back to the 14th-15th centuries. The invasion of India, by Timur and with the migration of few hundred Sufis, skilled persons, with different professions such as, wood carvers, weavers, architects, calligraphers and cooks from Samarqand to the Valley of Kashmir do influenced life at social structures. However, the traditional number of the

dishes for the *wazwan* is 36, between fifteen and thirty can be preparations of meat cooked under the supervision of Chief Vasta or Waza with the assistance of a group of few Wazas. Seven dishes are must for these functions or marriage ceremonies etc., these are: Rista, Rogan Josh, Tabak Maaz, Daniwal Korma, Aab Gosht, Marchwangan Korma and Gushtaba. Thus the guests grouped into four shares the meal out of a large metal plate called the *trami*. The meal begins with a ritual or traditional way of washing of hands as a jug and basin called the *tash-t-nari* are passed among the guests. The *trami* serving dish piled high with heaps of rice, decorated and quartered by four *seekh kababs*, four pieces of *meth maaz,* two *tabak maaz* sides of *barbecued ribs*, and one *safed kokur (murg),* one *zafrani kokur (murg)* along with other dishes. Curd and chutney are served separately in small earthen pots. Each *trami* is completed, it is removed and a new one brought in until the dinner has its curse. The meal ends with the Gushtaba served lastly.

Among the Kashmiri beverages *Noon Chai* (salt tea) and *Kashmiri Kahwa* are of course very famous. Thus *Noon Chai* is the most popular drink in a pinkish coloured salted tea. It is prepared with green tea, milk, salt and bicarbonate of soda. The particular colour of the tea is the result of its unique method of preparation. *Noon Chai* is the common breakfast tea of Kashmiris and is taken with bread, Kashmiri *Kulcha*, *Pratha* and *baqerkhani* and is generally served in large Samavars. The Kashmiri *Kahwa* is usually prepared and served at marriage parties, festivals and religious places (*Fateha-khawani*) ceremonies etc. *Kahwa* had its origin from a fourteenth century Arab coffee, which in turn, was named after an ancient beverage of the Sufis. So, again the credit for this goes to the Sufis for this famous Kashmiri *wazwan,* and beverages for which the Kashmir is known throughout the world.

Besides the Iranian and Central Asian influence on the Kashmiri society and culture, we also found impact of Indian way of life style over Kashmiri culture and society, as many of the Indian learned men, scholars and Sufis had also settled in Kashmir. It is true that the Kashmiris welcomed the new culture as their contacts became wider and larger with other countries of the world, but they could not put away their own old practices, customs and some of the rituals. Thus we find the symbols of old and new culture i.e., Indo-Islamic culture or composite culture amongst the people of Kashmir. It gave a new shape to the society and culture during

the period under review. In this way there was a change in almost every aspect of daily life, even the official language was Persian, on the other hand Sufis too had great regard for Kashmiri culture and society, and adopted certain practices, rituals etc. and adjusted with them, providing a base for communal harmony.

Finally it had been concluded that, Sufism brought a great change in the society and economy of Medieval Kashmir particularly during 16th-18th century. Many arts and crafts like shawl industry, carpet manufacturing, *Kangris* and *Gabbas* etc. which had disappeared during the last days of the Hindu rule. But with the penetration of the Sufis who brought a number of artists and craftsmen with them these industries were restored in Kashmir. Besides the shawls the other manufactures like silk products, paper, *Bhoj patar* or *tuz* used in place of paper, calligraphy etc. again flourished. Sufis also laid the Persian and Central Asian impact on art and architectural features of the Kashmir. The various buildings and monuments, prominent *khanqahs,* mosques, *dargahs,* shrines and *ziarats* in Jammu and Kashmir reflected the impact of Sufism and the illustrations of such buildings itself provide the first hand information, furthermore after the death of the various Sufi saints, their tombs also became a place of socio-economic and cultural activities and influenced the conditions of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The various Urs (annual death anniversaries) and other religious occasions at the above mentioned pious centers especially at the tombs of famous Sufis, Pirs, saints, *faqirs* were responsible for the promotion of the economy and harmony of Kashmir, of the concerned period. The people of Kashmir get-together on various Urs celebrations and on other religious festivals in this way they even started selling and purchasing goods on different fairs (*melas*). Thus a sort of business got opportunity to make the economy of the people sound. Kashmir is also known for its large number of fruits. Some of these fruits also brought to Kashmir by the outside migrants for an example cherry also called gilas was actually introduced into Kashmir, from Europe via Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan. In the 14th century Mir Sayyid Ali (1314-1385) a Sufi came to Kashmir along with 700 artisans and craftsmen who introduced new techniques in the various arts, of Kashmir viz, *Kar-i-Qalam-dani* or *Paper machie*, *khatum-band* or the act of ornamental wooden ceiling, Namdas or felt carpets and some metal and leather crafts came from Samarqand, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Hamdan and Mashad. In Kashmir

though, the people already knew the technique of *Hamams,* but Sayyid Ali Hamdani give a new shape to this technique. He introduced the community *Hamams* instead of family *Hamams.* That is why the above mentioned Sufi was considered as the nation-builder of Kashmir. On the arts and crafts of Kashmir there was such a great influence of the Sufis of Iran as the Valley was called as little Iran during the medieval times. During the time of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani a *khanqah* was considered a community center for the brotherhood. Besides the meditation and learning there were working centers attached to the *khanqah* called *karkhanas,* where the community brothers engaged themselves in various progresses and earn their livelihood, and moreover a *langar* facility was also there, where the meals prepared for all the inmates of *kahanqah* and for the guests. In the 16th century as Mirza Haidar Dughlat mentions that various arts like stone polishing, stone cutting, bottle making, window-cutting, tabban trash, gold-beating were found in Kashmir in abundance, which nowhere found, except in Samarqand and Bukhara. In Kashmir copper vessels were utilized for cooking and eating food. The Kashmiris learned the art of tinning and the use of metals from the Persians.

In medieval Kashmir there was the exchange of business between the outsiders and the local merchants, moreover the outsiders maintained their business houses in Kashmir on the other hand Kashmiri traders also introduced their branches in Indian towns of Punjab, U.P, Bengal and then at Khurasani Turkistan, Lhasa, Khatmandu and Bhutan. In these countries the Kashmiri products were in great demand. In the period under review shawl industry was considered as the national industry of Kashmir. Some special quality shawls were named as *Jama-war,* and *param-naram* shawls were considered by Akbar as the best shawls. During the 16th century, Naghz Beg from Khuqand (Central Asia) also played a vital role in the improvement of shawl industry in Kashmir. During the Mughal rule in Kashmir the ring shawl prepared from *pashmina* was also considered as one of the best shawls. Therefore, the price of the shawls also varied up to several thousands, and even today, ring shawl costs in lakhs. *Pashmina* for the shawl manufacturing was mostly brought from Ladakh during the 16th - 17th centuries. During the 16th century Srinagar was the hub of commercial centre while the other places of commercial activities were Anantnag, Sopore, Shopiyan, Avantipura and Baramulla. Jahangir mentions that the

goat wool for the shawl manufacture was brought from the Tibet. *Tili* or *Kani* and *Amilkar* were the two other prominent varieties of shawls. It is claimed that such designed *amali* shawl was invented by Saed Baba Alias Alla Baba, in the period of Azad Khan who was the Afghan Governor of Kashmir from 1783 to 1785, and which promoted the economy of Kashmir. After the end of Mughal rule in Kashmir and during the Afghan rule shawl industry got much importance. The Afghans were also very found of shawls. In that period the Kashmiri shawls were in great demand in Iran, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Russia. During the 18th century in 1796 under Afghan Governor Abdullah Khan of Kashmir a Sayyid named Sayyid Yaha a blind man came to Kashmir from Baghdad as a visitor and he was given an orange colour shawl by the governor as a gift who presented it to the Khedive in Egypt who gave it Napoleon who presented it to empress Josephine. In this way, it became fashionable and popular in Europe also.

We found, that the carpets in Kashmir owe their origin to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who brought carpet weavers from Samarqand. After that during the Mughal rule particularly in 1618 a Kashmiri pilgrim returning from Hajj via Iran visited Andijan from where he brought the tools of carpet weaving art and thus this industry flourished again in Kashmir, and the designed carpets became very famous throughout the Mughal period.

It was during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin that silk industry was considered as the queen of textiles. The origin of the silk industry in Kashmir is not known but it was ultimately connected with that of Bukhara. Both in the Akbar and Jahangir's period we found in the contemporary records that there were mulberry trees whose leaves were used to feed the silk worms. Though it signifies that Mughals organized the silk industry, but after their rule, the Afghans too encouraged silk industry in Kashmir.

Besides it, knowing about the paper production of Kashmir one thing is very interested that a different kind of natural paper which was the bark of a tree called *Bhoj Patar* had so many characteristics of his own as it is water resistant. During the period under review it was used for manuscript writings and also used for writing amulets *(tawiz*), and still used in some parts of the Jammu and Kashmir by the Sufis,

Pirs and Ulama for religious writings. We also found that the Kashmiris regard this, as sacred paper because there is a symbol of Arabic alphabet *Aliph* that represents God's name that is Allah. This tree is even still available in the forests of Kashmir. During the 16th century the famous Kashmiri Sufi and scholar Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi wrote letters to Badauni, suggesting him, about this Kashmiri paper that, if he needed it for raw drafting. The Kashmiris also manufactured paper of three qualities *Farmashi, Darmashti, Kalamdani* and another one was *Rangmas* which was the coloured paper used for packing purposes. Actually the paper was brought to Kashmir from Persia and Samarqand through the Muslim refugees during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Therefore, during the Mughal and Afghan period i.e., 16th-18th centuries, Kashmiri rag paper was largely in demand in India, as well as a large quantity of paper was exported to Persia via Ahmadabad route generally brought from Kashmir.

We also noticed that in the field of calligraphy, during this period, Kashmiris have shown a good talent. Ali Kashmiri was a calligraphist attached to the Akbar's court. Muhammad Husain was of the Akbar's and Jahangir's period, whereas Muhammad Murad Kashmiri and Mulla Baqir were the calligraphists in the service of Shah Jahan. Furthermore the saffron cultivated in Kashmir was chiefly exported to India, Yarkand and China, even some of the English and Duch merchants also purchased saffron from Kashmir as it was considered best as compared to that of cultivated in Italy and Morocco.

Throughout the whole Muslim period in Kashmir the land revenue was the main source of income to the royal treasury. It was fixed by Shah Mir as 1/6th of the grass produce, and after him Zain-ul-Abidin continued the same scale but later his successors converted it into 1/3rd of the produce. Under Emperor Akbar the land was measured and was fixed 1/3rd of autumn produce (*kharif*) as the share of the state, for each *Patta* and land was fixed at two *traks* at the grass produce. The assessment was done under the supervision of Husain Beg Umari Qazi Ali, it was decided that Kashmir should be divided into 41 *Parganas,* the revenue from each *Pargana* was fixed both in cash and kind and this process continued till 1819 up to the end of the Muslim rule in Kashmir. Some other taxes or cesses like ferry-toll, bridge toll, tax on imports and exports, tax on arts and crafts (rasum-i-hirfa), tax on fire (wan-wazari) on

cattle (gaw mirbahri) and on trees (sar darakhti), etc., Jazia and Zakat, sometimes also taken.

The villagers sometimes make it necessary for them to participate in the Urs celebrations of the Pirs and they contribute their share individually. The Sufis brought the various techniques of the construction of buildings, for an example *Khatam-band* ornamented ceiling of the shrine of Naqashbandi near Jama Masjid of Srinagar resembling to the design ceiling found in Samarqand, Bukhara, Persia, Constinople, Algeria and Morocco. The lattice work *taban tarashi* is found in the mosques of Shah Hamdanand in the masajid of Bahudddin Sahib and Madan Sahib, got much importance during the Mirza Haidar Duglat's period 1543. In the Mughal period the Jama Mosque and Shah Hamdan Mosque were rebuilt in their original positions. During the Muslim period wooden technique of architecture got much importance, because it was easily available and was suitable for resisting the climatic conditions of the area. This wooden style of architecture owes its character of influence from Ghazni and Afghanistan, the *Khatam-band* wood technique of Kashmir architecture had its origin from Persia and Central Asia. The Islamic art and architecture and arts and crafts with architectural features, for an example Maziana on the top with spire on a roof of some of the mosques reveal obviously an adaptation of Buddhist *chatravali* and Hindu *sikhara*, and which are the local symbols of composite culture in the architecture of Kashmir.

Last but not least we come to the conclusion that Kashmir underwent different changes under different rulers. In our study we briefly covered in background the Sultanate period then the Chak rule, and finally the 16^{th} century which is very important from the geo-political point of view, as during that very time, Kashmir lost its independence and thus it was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Akbar. We also noticed and found it that, present day Jammu & Kashmir is a Muslim majority state, its people having all the unique features with regard to their standard of living, language, food and dress habits and the unique art and architectural features, and overall their culture and economic resources and their of livelihood, due to works of various arts and crafts and local technical works for which Kashmir is even still remembered as one of the richest and economically sound state. Rather it resembles to the Iranian culture in some of its features. In nutshell all these things which we

assessed even today in Kashmir are due to these tireless efforts of Sufi saints who generally travelled from the various Islamic states and particularly from Persia and Central Asia during the 14th century and onwards and during the 16th -18th centuries. The process further enriched itself in their mission and many changes occurred in the different aspects of the conditions of Jammu & Kashmir. However, even though, today those Sufis are no more, but their teachings, ways and practices, taught by them to the people are still alive and are practiced in both the urban and rural areas of Kashmir and furthermore their *khanqahs* and *dargahs* which they left behind them are still standing as the primary evidence of their mission and impact and attracts thousands of people towards them, and are still considered as the centers of socio-economic and cultural movements of Kashmir.

Thus a study of the Impact of Sufism and its tendencies in Kashmir during the 16th to 18th centuries is a great gap as these trends and tendencies brought about a great change in the socio-economic conditions and cultural milieu of the region.

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Appendix

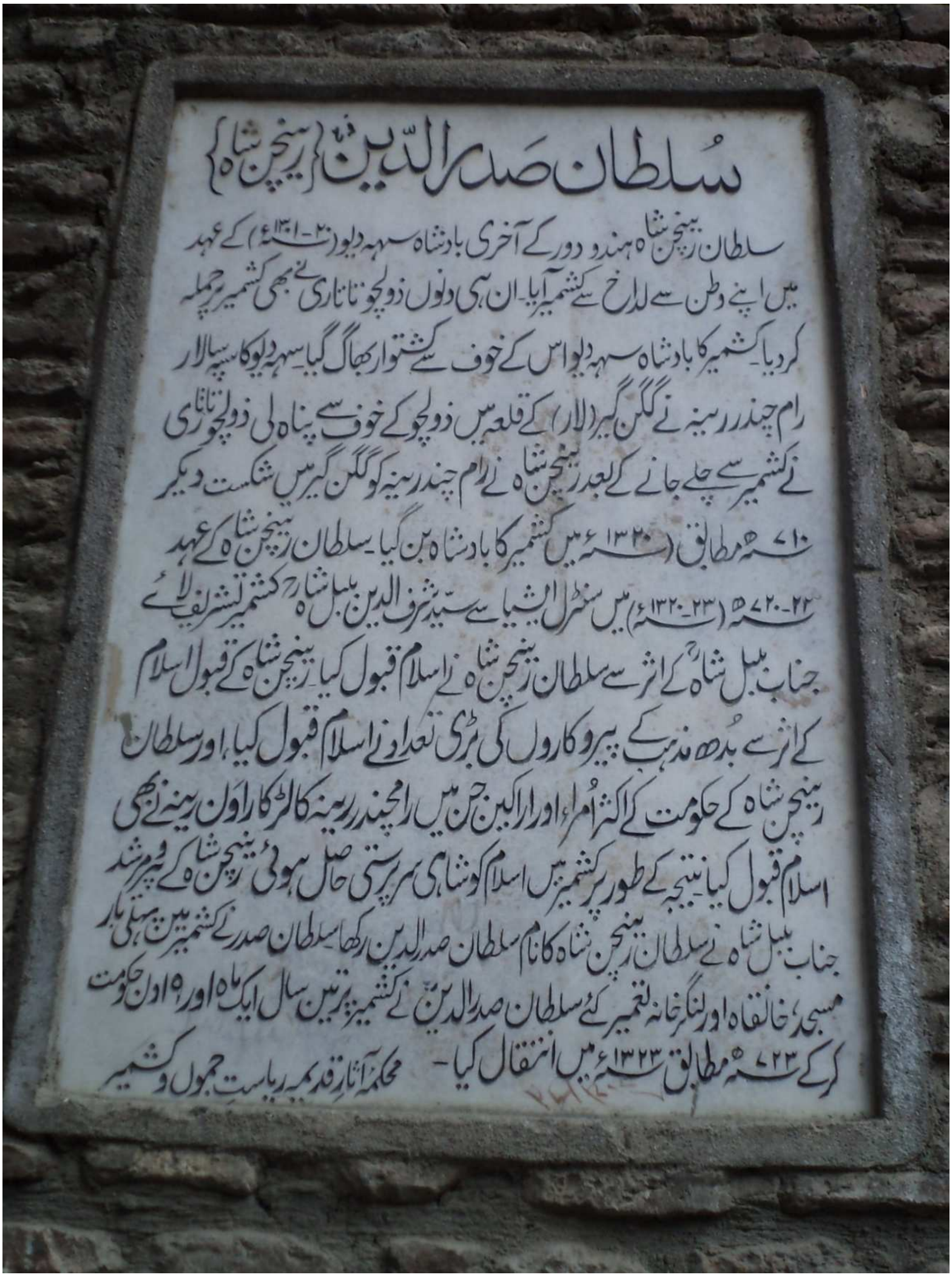


Plate 1 (a). Plicard on white marble on the wall in one side of the grave of Sultan Sadru-ud-Din (Rinchan Shah)



Plate 1 (b). Grave of Sultan Sadru-ud-Din located on the left side of River Jhelum at Bulbul Lankar, between Ali Kadal and Nawa-Kadal Srinagar



Plate 2 (a). Tomb of Hazart Sayid Abdur Rehman Bulbul Shah on the east of River Jhelum at Bulbul Langar Srinagar

Source: Ghulam Nabi Dar and Sheikh Farooq Ahmad, *Reyaz-ul-Abrar*, Hazratbal Srinagar, 2008, p. 27



Plate 2 (b). Under construction shrine of Hazart Sayid Abdur Rehman Bulbul Shah on the east of River Jhelum at Bulbul Langar Srinagar



Plate 2 (c). The grave of Hazrat Bulbul Shah and his companion and disciple Hazrat Allama Mullah Ahmad in the interior of the shrine of the first Sufi saint in Kashmir

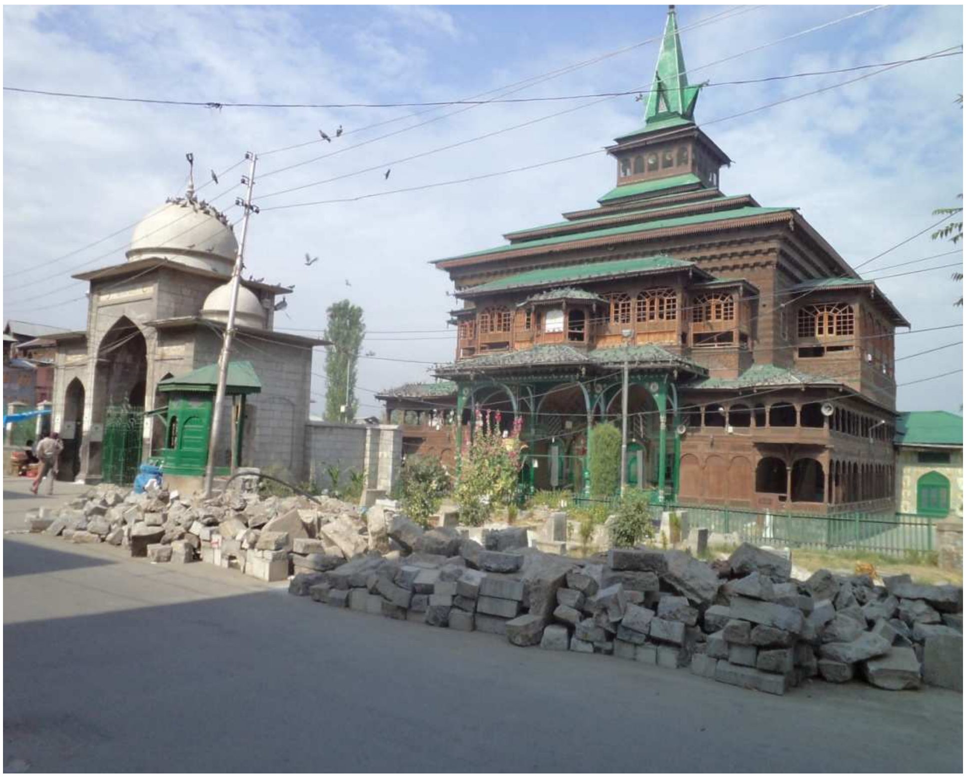


Plate 3 (a). A view of the Shah Hamadan Mosque or Khanqah-i-Mualla located on the right bank of the river Jhelum at Srinagar



Plat 3 (b). A view of the Khanqah-i-Ala or the exalted shrine also called Khanqh-i-Mir Sayyid Ali or Khanqah-i-Faiz-Panah at Tral.



Plate 3 (c). Ziarat-i-Shah Hamdan or Khanqah at Sopore located on the left side of the River Jhelum at Sopore in the Baramulla district.



Plate 4 (a). External outlook of the Jami Masjid a historical mosque



Plate 4 (b). A view of the water tank for making ablution purposes in the court yard of the Jami Masjid in Srinagar



Plate 4 (c). Farman of the Shah Jahan inscribed on the black marble on the main entrance gate-wall of the Jami Masjid Srinagar.

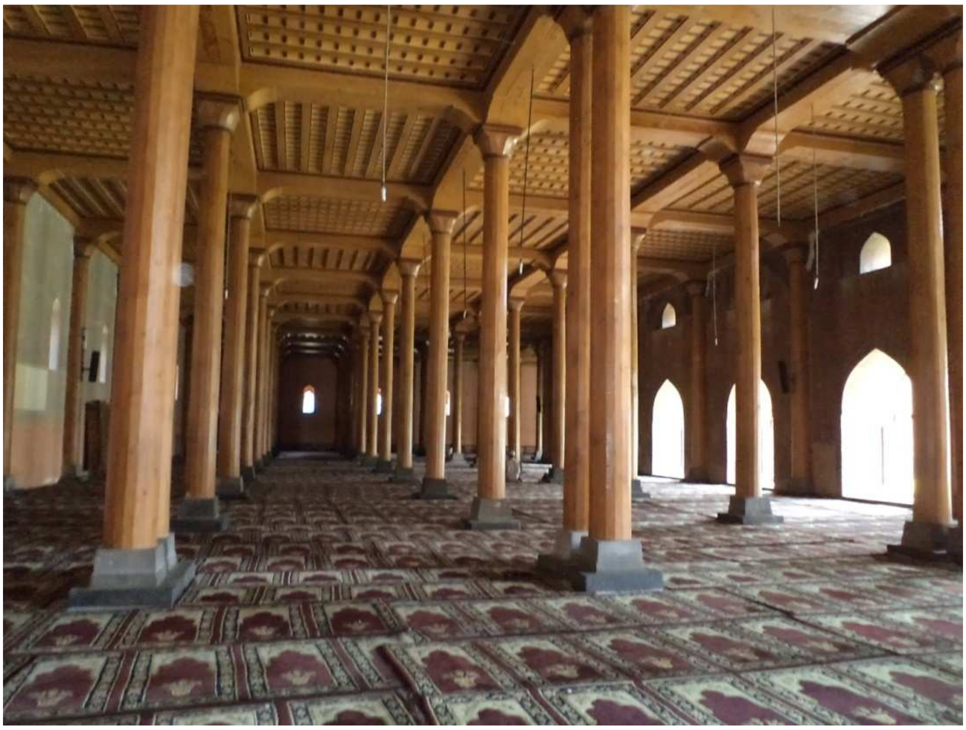


Plate 4 (d). A view of the wooden pillars in the inner side of the Jami Mosque at Srinagar

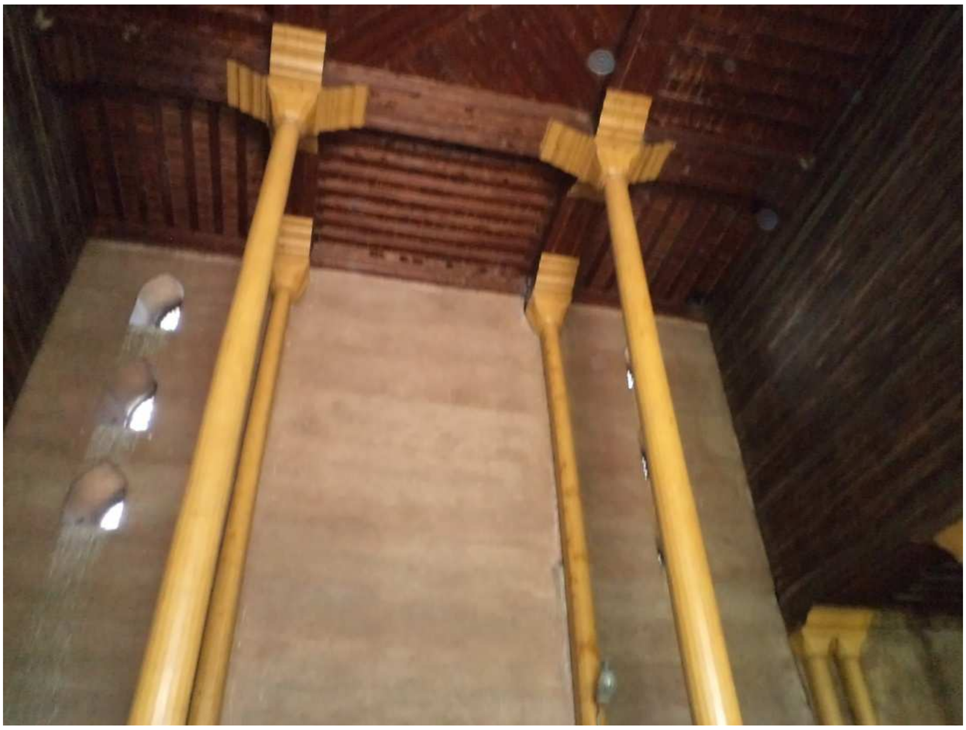


Plate 4 (e). A view of the four main pillars in front of the Mehrab.

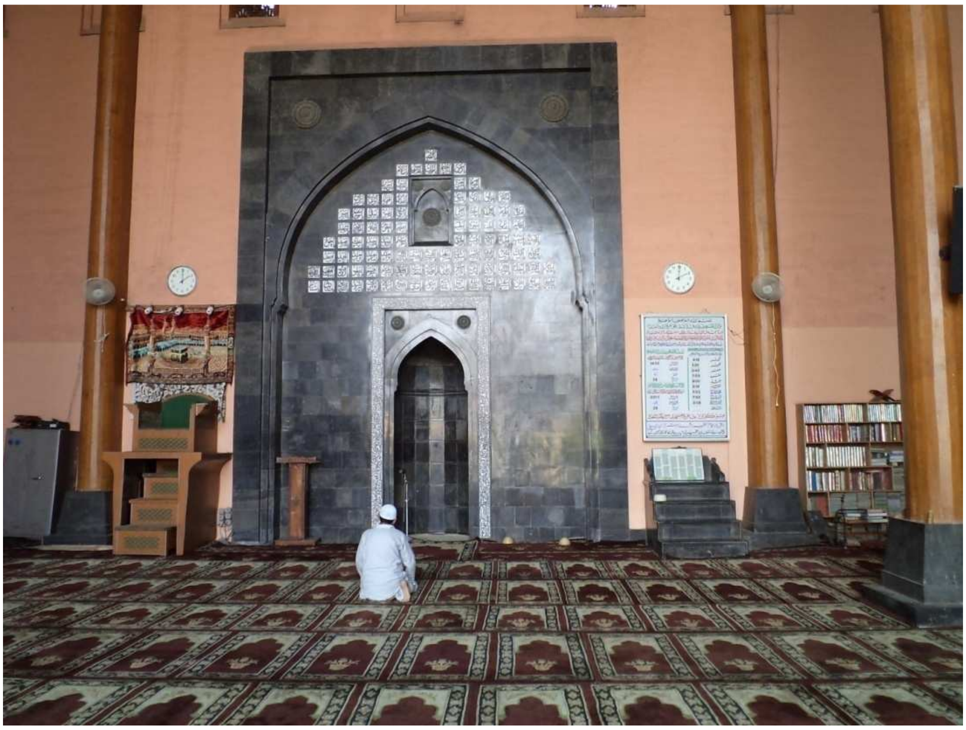


Plate 4 (f). A view of the *Mehrab* of the Jami Mosque made up of the black marble inscribed with the 99 Holy names of the Almighty Allah. The imam leads prayers as a Muslim Religious leader.



Plate 5. A view of the Pathar Masjid built by Nur Jahan located on the bank of River Jhelum at Srinagar

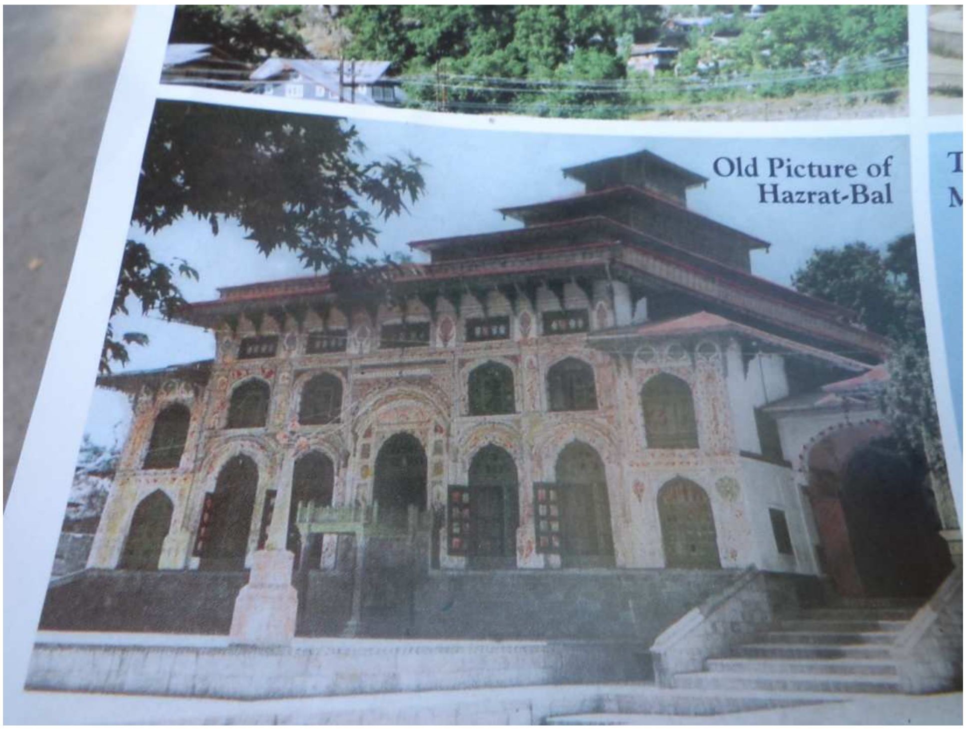


Plate 6 (a). A view of the old Hazratbal shrine at Hazratbal Srinagar



Plate 6 (b). An outlook of the Hazratbal Mosque constructed in white marble located on the western bank of the Dal Lake in Srinagar.

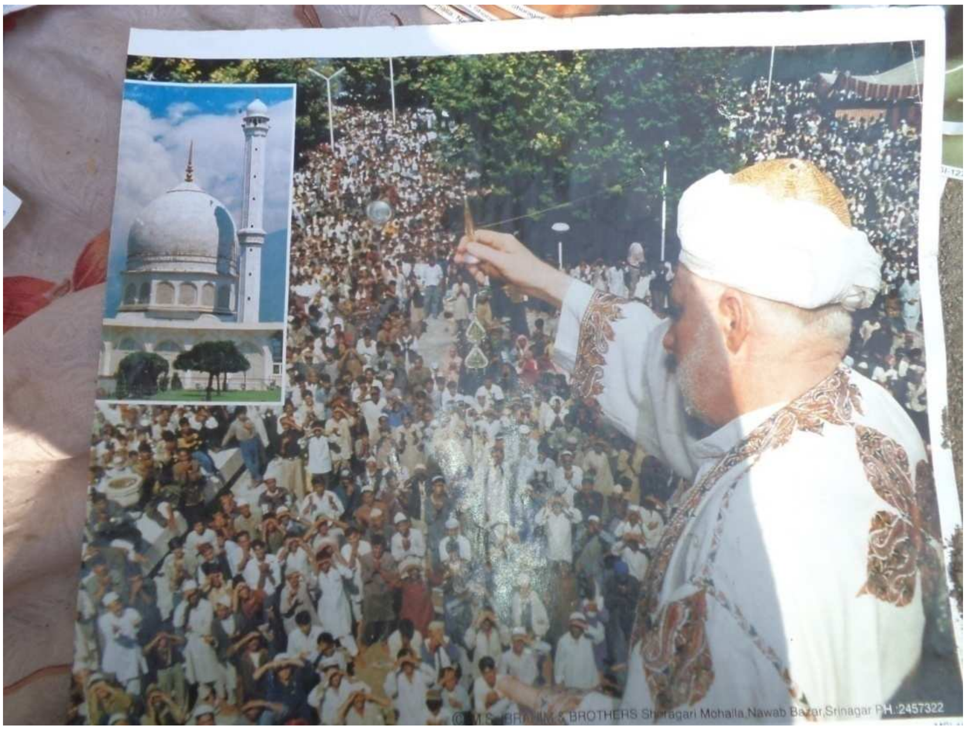


Plate 6 (c). Display of *Mo-i-Mukaddas* in one of the public gatherings at Hazratbal shrine Hazratbal Srinagar.



Plate 7 (a). A view of the ruined Mulla Akhuwand Mosque built by Dara Shukoh in 1649 for his religious preceptor, Sufi Mullah Shah Badakshani in the slopes of Hariparbat or Koh-i-maran, Srinagar.



Plate 7 (b). A general view of the chambers connected to the Akhwand Mullah Shah Mosque were used for inmates and for the people who studied in the *madarsa* connected to it in the slopes of Hariparbat or Koh-i-maran in Srinagar.



Plate 8. A view of the ruined building of the Pari Mahal, built by Dara Shukoh in 1650 A.D as a residential School of Sufism for his Sufi teacher Akhwand Mullah Shah Badakshani near the Chasma Shahi Srinagar.



Plate 9 (a). Shaikh Noor-ud-din Noorani also called Shaikh-ul-Alam or Nund Rishi, was the founder of Rishi silsila in Kashmir, was born in 779 A.H./ 1377 A.C.

Courtesy: G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir, Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1974.



Plate 9 (b). An outlook of the tomb of Shaikh Noor-ud-Din Wali (RA) at Charar-i-Sharif in the Budgam district of Jammu and Kashmir.



Plate 10 (a). The Khanqah-i-Hazrat Zain-ud-Din on the bank of River Chinab at Bandarkoot in Kastiwar district of Jammu.



Plate 10 (b). Zairat of Baba Sakhi Zain-ud-Din Wali Rishi at Aish-Maqam on the Anantnag-Pahalgam road on the mountain hill, some 20 kilometers from Pahalgam.



Plate 10 (c). The cave where Baba Sakhi Zain-ud-Din Wali Rishi used to perform *chilla* or worship at Aish-Mukam.



Plate 11 (a). An outlook of the tomb of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi in the Chadura Tehsil of Budgam district of Kashmir.



Plate 11 (b). A view of the under construction shrine over the old tomb of Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi in the Chadura Tehsil of Budgam district of Kashmir.



Plate 12. A view of the tomb of Hazrat Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani a Sufi of the Suhrawardi order of the 16th century, located at Narwara (Malkha Mohalla), Srinagar.

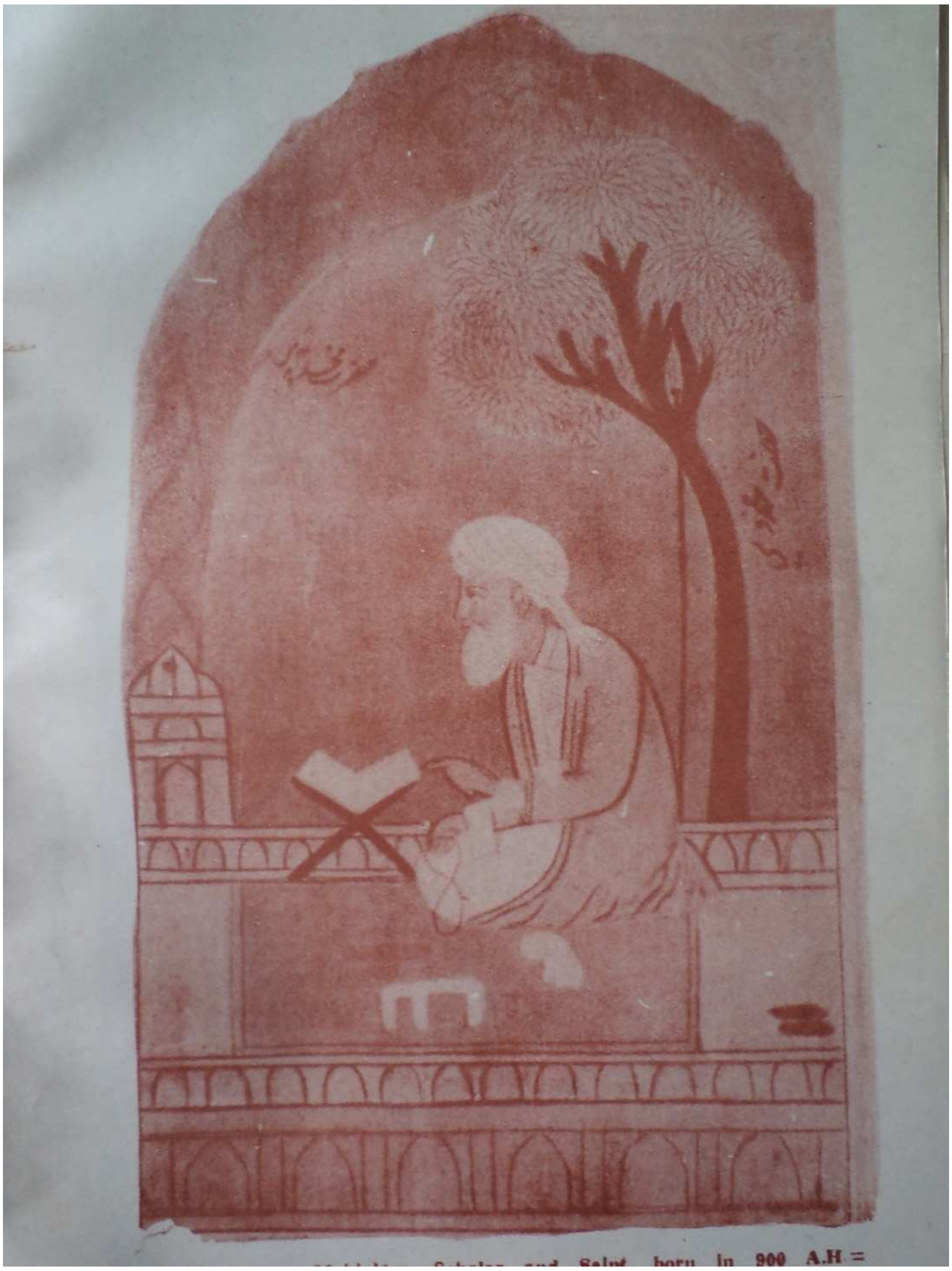


Plate 13 (a). Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi a great Sufi of Kashmir, born in 900 A.H/ 1494 A.C. and died in 984 A.H. / 1576 A.C.

Source: G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir, Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1974.



Plate 13 (b). An outlook of *Ziarat* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi also called as Makhdum Sahib shrine located at the Koh-i-Maran or Hariparbat hill.



Plate 14. A general view of the Ziarat of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (R.A) located at Zainakadal Srinagar.



Plate 15. The outlook of the shrine of Dastigeer Sahib at Khanyar Srinagar



Plate 16. A general view of the outlook of tomb of Baba Abdullah Guzriali at Guzrial Village 4 to 5 kilometers from the Kralpora bloack of modern Kupwara district of Kashmir



Plate 17 (a) Shrine of Zati Shah or Shahwali Mukam Drugmulla in the Kupwara district of Kashmir.



Plate 17 (b). The interior of the mausoleum of Zati Shah and the other grave in front of his grave is the grave of his brother Masud Chak.



Plate 18 (a) Shah Muhammad Farid-ud-Din Baghdadi Qadiri, born 1000 A.H/ 1554 A.C reached in Kishtwar at the age 75 to preach Islam and converted the Rajput ruler of the Valley of Kishtwar to Islam.

Source: G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir, Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* Vol. I, New Delhi, 1974



Plate 18 (b). A view of the Ziarat of Shah Muhammad Farid-ud-Din Baghdadi Qadiri located at Kishtwar district of Jammu



Plate 19 (a). An outlook of the Panj-Pir Zirat located on the national high way from Rajouri to Jammu in Rajouri district of Jammu.



Plate 19 (b). A general view of the six graves in a single line covered with white marble in the inner side of the Panj-Pir Ziarat located in Rajouri district of Jammu.



Plate 20 (a). A view of the Dargah of Hazrat Baba Ghulam Shah Badash located at Shahhadra Sharief some thirty kilometers from Rajouri district of Jammu.



Plate 20 (b). A general outlook of the under-construction Dargah of Hazrat Baba Ghulam Shah Badshah located at Shahhadra Sharief some thirty kilometers from Rajouri district of Jammu